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WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN HISTORY.

WASHINGTON, October 17, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Of the many articles written concerning our visitor President, the following, from the pen of Dennis O'Connell McCarthy, editor of the San Francisco *American Flag*, is certainly the best. As it has not been published this side the Rocky Mountains I send it for republication in THE STANDARD.

Yours, as ever, C. C. C. C.

THE INDICTMENT OF HISTORY.

BY DANIEL O'CONNELL M'CARTHY.

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 27, 1866.

We can conceive the future historian, having concluded the splendid record of National Restoration, and lingered in melancholy reflection over the crimson pages of assassination, will proceed some way as follows:

"At this time there appeared one Andrew Johnson, who, through the mistaken friendship of his simple-minded predecessor, had been elected Vice-President of the United States. He was a man of humble origin, of coarse and ignoble instincts, of dissolute habits and untempered ambition, who being skilled in all the arts of the demagogue, had been rapidly advanced through various stages of political life, by a rude sort of popularity on the Border. While in the Senate, the more notable of the Southern statesmen affected to regard him as a simple, unmanneredly person, who, in his rude attention, frequently violated the usages of polite society, and in language both debased and blasphemous; and insomuch was he disliked by his coteporaries, that when the great Conspiracy was about to be planned, this man, alone, of all the Southern Senators, was excluded. Enraged by this warrant of confidence, in addition to the sneers and sarcasms continually flung toward himself in the Senate, he become for a time the clamorous denouncer of the rebellion, and outran all others in its most patriotic zeal.

"When it had been arranged to assassinate the great and good President Lincoln, in the public theatre, as well as the Secretary of State and the Lieutenant-General of the Army, it was made to appear that the conspirators intended to murder the Vice-President also, who was alone and unguarded in his apartment, and, as was his custom, stupified with wine. The fact, and, in fact, all the humorous scenes were employed, who, as had been expected, failed to strike the fatal blow, and fled at the first alarm in the Capital. Thus, the great Lincoln having been slain, this bold, fancy that our *two hundred and sixty thousand* brothers in Ohio, who have just spurned the admission of a few thousand blacks into their State councils, will submit to the rule of three million of negroes, blindly led by three or four debased men of the land? If they do, the day of reckoning will be a sad one for them.

"Only one resource is left those men—it is to show what they have heretofore been so eager to show, that they have more valuable lives are wearied out of them by universal contempt and execration, to screw up their hearts to a point which will enable an honorable man to risk his life against them, without the annoyance of being pounced upon by the 'corporal of the guard.' Degrading as this would be, there are yet many who would descend to it for the sole pleasure of seeing them run in pale terror from the field.

BLACK MEN TAKE HEED.

Again the *Times* threatens in old-fashioned style the colored Unionists of Alabama. It says:

"*Black men, take heed.*

"Over three hundred thousand sons of Ohio have already pronounced their verdict, that you shall not rule this continent.

"Desert the allies of your false gods! Spurn away with contempt your false prophets! Your leaders are cowards! they will run when the hour of danger strikes!

"Return to your old friends—the friends of your youth—who had not enslaved you, but had inherited authority as you had inherited slavery, from ages long past.

"It is yet time! Count your numbers! To-day you are three against eight; in a few years you will be two against ten. Beware that you do not sow the wind and gather the tempest! We are ready to receive you, after having crushed the serpents who tempted you."

"NIGGER SUPREMACY."

The Richmond *Examiner and Enquirer* concludes an intemperate appeal against reconstruction as follows:

"The Northern masses, who were yesterday submissive to the orders of Radical leaders as oxen to the voice and whip of their drivers, are now in open and furious rebellion; and in Philadelphia, in the first moment of joy, the day after the Radical defeat, they pursued every black who was seen upon the streets with jeering yells of 'Where's your nigger supremacy now, Cuffee?' It will thus be seen that the deliverance has come from the right direction—and that from being the apparent friend of negro equality, the North is now arraying itself in deadly hostility to the dogma. All who are familiar with the events engaged therein will remember, I know that the tide as yet has just turned, and in less than twelve months it will sweep with resistless fury, threatening the lives and liberties of the negro race."

THE VOICE OF OHIO.

The Memphis *Bulletin*, lately under the editorial direction of Prof. Pirate Semmes, thus pronounces its interpretation of the voice of Ohio:

"It shows that the white people of the North, while they are willing to give the negro every right essential to his position as a freeman, are not willing to place him upon an equal platform as to mere political privileges. They don't believe he is capable of *governing* the white man; and they have, therefore, indignantly rejected the proposition. And if the white people of the North will have none of it, is it wise policy to *force* it on the Southern people? The revolution has spent its force, and henceforth we drift backward to the supremacy of the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws!"

EXPULSION OR EXTERMINATION.

The Raleigh (N. C.) *Daily Progress* says:

"So we read the lesson by the lights at present guiding us. It is enough, too, in all conscience, to realize that in so short a time such a revolution is effected in the popular mind of the nation. It argues well for the redemption of our country from misrule and the perpetuation of government in which the rights of black and white will be equally well guarded, and under the benign influence of which both classes can, if they so elect, enjoy unexampled prosperity and happiness.

"There is but a single preventive of this—the continued alliance of our colored population with unscrupulous whites. If they will persist in worshipping the serpent, we tell them plainly that expulsion from the country, if not extermination, is their irreversible doom."

A NEW AND POWERFUL MOTIVE.

The Charlottesville (Va.) *Chronicle*, urging the non-action policy of indefinite waiting, says:

"The Northern elections are a trumpet call to the white people of Virginia to rally to the polls on Tuesday next, and vote down the Shoddy Shellabarger bill. If we can throttle the reconstruction vote, we shall have some other measure offered us.

"Voters of Albemarle! remember that you have now a new and powerful motive to come to the polls!

"Cast your vote against the convention."

THE LATE ELECTIONS.

The Louisville *Courier* says:

"From the late elections it may be assumed as a thing certain, that the people of the Northern States disapprove the Congressional reconstruction policy of Congress. The issues embraced in that policy were before the voters of Pennsylvania, and, as a consequence, that State, which for six years had been overwhelmingly Republican, elected the Democratic ticket. The same issues were presented to the people of Ohio, and the consequence was that the negro-equality amendment was defeated by a majority of fifty thousand, and a Democratic Legislature chosen. Such results cannot be construed otherwise than as an indication of the prevailing sentiment at the North.

"THAT UNCONSTITUTIONAL MOB."

The Memphis *Avalanche*, in its usual bombastic furious strain, calls for blood and convulsion, and rules again, and invites another war:

"Will the Conservative people of the North, now that they have gained so great a triumph in Ohio and Pennsylvania, allow that unconstitutional mob, which pretends to call itself Congress, to continue its vindictive revolutionary course?

* * * * * * *

"The measures that an illegal legislature chooses to pin on us with bayonets, only lasts during the employment of force and the existence of such a power itself. The first act of a legitimate Conservative Congress will be to repeal all the disunion legislation [including, we presume, the acts authorizing the goverment loans] of the present rump usurpers.

* * * * * * *

"To the wisdom, the patriotism, the self-interest, and to the Caucasian blood of the North we appeal, and beg that they will, as they have done in Ohio and Pennsylvania, strangle the fierce demon which gloats with ravenous looks upon our throats. Continue to say to the President that the Constitution shall not be utterly annihilated. Say to him that if impeached, he shall not be suspended. Tell him to stand firm to his Constitution, and that you will stand firm to him. Tell him that negro rule must not, cannot, shall not be allowed. Tell him that you fought for a Union with Lees, and Johnstons, and Forrests, and not with Cesars, and Pompeys and Cuffees of the South."

MARYLAND.

THE RIOT AT THE PARADE OF COLORED MILITIA—RESULT OF THE CORONER'S INVESTIGATION.

BALTIMORE, October 18.

The affray about 9 o'clock last night in Howard street, near Mulberry, while some 1,400 of the colored troops were marching, and in the column of a company marked "Sixth," had been fired upon by some one outside with a pistol, and also stoned, discharged a dozen of their muskets, killing a boy named Charles A. Ellmeyer, has caused intense excitement, and a disturbance of a serious character. Investigation before the Coroner leaves it doubtful whether the colored troops had really been first assaulted. The evidence is contradictory. Thus far the authorities have been unable to fix the killing upon any one. It is still under investigation. It is supposed that the entire company will be arrested and held to answer. At one time soon after the affray, there were representations of a serious riot, but the police quelled the row. It is supposed that this circumstance will cause a disbanding, by Gov. Swann, of the negro troops. The matter has assumed a very serious aspect, and minds are lord.

LATER—ALL PARADES OTHER THAN OF THE MILITIA PROHIBITED.

BALTIMORE, October 18.

The following remarkable order was passed tonight by the Police Board of Baltimore. It subject is to prohibit the parade of the colored militia and the Union Leagues entirely:

"All parades, processions, or assemblages of armed men, within the limits of Baltimore, other than the regularly-organized militia of the State, under their proper officers, properly and legally authorized, are hereby prohibited, whether the same be had by day or by night.

"All processions or parades of bodies of men through the public streets at night, except of militia as aforesaid, are likewise forbidden, whether the persons engaged therein be armed or unarmed; and persons, other than members of the militia organization aforesaid, appearing armed in the streets at night, whether singly or together, will be arrested.

"The officers and men of the police force are hereby enjoined to arrest all persons who shall be found on the streets in contravention of this order."

The houses of several persons have been searched to-day by the police and arms taken. The owners of these belonged to the colored militia companies. A number of arrests have been made of parties alleged to be implicated in the shooting affair of last night.

COWARDICE IN OUR RANKS.

From the Philadelphia Morning Post.

THERE is no better Republican in America than Thaddiens Stevens, and those who know how that brave old man loves his party, and how earnestly he strives for its success, will appreciate the bitterness with which he wrote the words—"Sick as I am, I take this occasion to thank God for our late defeat. The Republicans have been acting a cowardly part, and have not deserved success. The thing is not in the slightness of the words, but in the truth. The Republican party in this State shirked the issue when it excluded the demand for Impartial Suffrage from its platform. We will not be bitterness with which he wrote the words—"Sick as I am, I take this occasion to thank God for our late defeat. The Republicans have been acting a cowardly part, and have not deserved success. The thing is not in the slightness of the words, but in the truth. The Republican party in this State shirked the issue when it excluded the demand for Impartial Suffrage from its platform. We will not be bitterness with which he wrote the words—"Sick as I am, I take this occasion to thank God for our late defeat. The Republicans have been acting a cowardly part, and have not deserved success. The thing is not in the slightness of the words, but in the truth. The Republican party in this State shirked the issue when it excluded the demand for Impartial Suffrage from its platform. We will not be bitterness with which he wrote the words—"Sick as I am, I take this occasion to thank God for our late defeat. The Republicans have been acting a cowardly part, and have not deserved success. The thing is not in the slightness of the words, but in the truth. The Republican party in this State shirked the issue when it excluded the demand for Impartial Suffrage from its platform. We will not be

TROUBLE AHEAD.

WHEN REBELS ARE WARNED, LET UNION MEN BE PREPARED—GEN. P. P. BLAIR SAID TO BE IN SECRET CORRESPONDENCE, ETC., ETC.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Oct. 8, 1867.

Editors Missouri Democrat:

As some additional evidence that the rebels are again secretly, as well as more openly in Maryland, marshalling their forces throughout the country for a united and concerted effort to establish in power those who in vain strove for failed to destroy the government, I give you the following true copy, taken by myself, of a letter received at Linn Creek, on the evening of the 2d instant. The writer (Jackson) once lived in Camden county, was a rebel sympathizer, saw his error, desires no more war. It was *not written for the public*, but Mr. Moulder, through a sense of duty, permitted his father-in-law, Thos. Shelby, Esq., Judge and Clerk of Camden county, to use it. He permitted and *requested* me to copy it. It is as follows:

"WAVERLY, MO., Sept. 24, 1867.

"DEAR FRIEND: Yours of the 5th of this month has just been received.

* * * * * * *

I had a lengthy conversation with Gen. Shelby a few days since. He gave me his views. As concerning the future he thought the time was close at hand when we would have all our past troubles to contend with again, *but it would be of a different scale to some extent.* And, *better proof than all*, the Genl *received a private letter* from Gen. P. P. Blair, *warning him to be in readiness*, for that war is *undoubtedly to be* and was *near at hand.* And I care not how soon myself; if others can hear it, may be I can. I hope people will have their eyes open a little more than they did in the other war. They may rest assured as much as they please; I don't expect to take any part in the affair. I will try to live and let others do as they may.

* * * * * * *

WILLIAM A. JACKSON,
of Waverly, Mo.

"To David Moulder, Linn Creek, Mo."

I forbear comment, as you will of course give to the public whatever may be proper. It would not, however, be difficult to draw a picture of Gen. P. P. Blair *following* the Camp Jackson rebels in a charge upon the Union forces through whose valor the country was saved. It might, also, in this connection, be well for you to direct the attention of the loyal people to the fact that *quite a contingent of issues* exists, in the persons of ex-rebel officers, have been, and are, traversing the State, and that their chief employment may be to secretly organize the rebels for the war above alluded to. And it might be well to ask if a number of Methodist ministers *South, lately* having come into the State, are not also engaged in the same work.

Certainly loyal men should take warning and prepare against the contingency that, *if the rebels and their friends again draw the sword*, it may not return to the scabbard until it shall have performed its proper work.

We do not close our eyes to stubborn facts, lest, ere long, when it is too late, it may be said of us: "Ye can discern the face of the sky, but ye cannot discern the signs of the times." To avoid blood shed and rebel rule, let loyal men be prepared.

Very truly and respectfully, your obedient servant, &c.,

J. W. MCCLURG.

THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION IN OHIO.

From the Cleveland Leader.

THE Constitutional amendment is defeated. The next Legislature, being Democratic, will not propose a similar one. Therefore no amendment to strike the word "white" out of the State Constitution will provide, by law, for the election of delegates, and the assembling of such Convention." All amendments to the Constitution adopted by the Constitutional Convention must be submitted to the people thereon, and be ratified by a majority of those voting thereon, before they are part of the Constitution. We presume, therefore, that this question will go over until the Constitutional Convention of 1871, which we propose to make an Equal Suffrage Convention.

IMPORTANT DECISION BY CHIEF-JUSTICE CHASE.

THE APPRENTICESHIP OF NEGRO CHILDREN BY THE COURTS DECLARED NULL AND VOID.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 16.

CHIEF-JUSTICE CHASE rendered a decision in the United States Circuit Court to-day in the case concerning the apprenticeship of negro children by the Orphans' Courts in Maryland since the adoption of the Free State Constitution of 1864. The decision, briefly stated, is: First, That the apprenticeship created by the indentures was slavery or involuntary servitude within the meaning of the 13th article of the Constitution of the United States. Second, That the Civil Rights law was legislation appropriate for giving effect to the 13th article of the Constitution and was constitutional. The result of the decision is, that the indentures in question were invalid, and all negro apprentices held under them (several thousands in number in Southern Maryland and the Eastern shore) are freed from the control of their masters and put under the control of their parents.

The hearing was had yesterday upon the petition of Elizabeth Turner (colored) by her next friend, Charles Henry Minaky, addressed to the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Chief-Judge of the Circuit Court of the United States, in and for the Maryland District. The petitioner alleges that she is the child of Elizabeth Minaky, formerly Elizabeth Turner, that she is restrained of her liberty, and held in service by Philemon T. Hambleton, Talbot County, Maryland, in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States; also, that the petitioner is restrained of her liberty by virtue of certain alleged indentures of apprenticeship, made, not in accordance with the laws of the State of Maryland as applicable to binding of white children. The petitioner prays the Court for a writ of habeas corpus, addressed to said Hambleton, requiring him to produce in Court the person of the petitioner, and to certify the true cause of her detention, and to show cause, if any he has, why petitioner should not be discharged.

H. Stockbridge and Nathan M. Pusey, attorneys for petitioner.

The petition was filed Sept. 20, and indorsed "Writ granted as prayed; returnable Oct. 15, 1867."

S. P. CHASE, Chief-Justice of the United States.

The master, P. T. Hambleton, made the following return to the writ:

In obedience to the command of the withiu writ, I herewith produce the body of Elizabeth Turner, together with a copy of the indentures of apprenticeship, showing the cause of her caption and detention, and respectfully await the action of your Honor.

The petitioner appeared by counsel.

The Chief-Justice inquired of the respondent if he had counsel in Court. He replied in the negative, and said he would let the matter be settled by the Court.

The Chief-Justice said that he would prefer the case should be fully argued.

The respondent stated that the child and its mother were formerly his slaves, and were set free by the Constitution which went into operation Nov. 1, 1864. The child was apprenticed Nov. 3, 1864, two days after she was emancipated. The law of Congress called the Civil Rights bill was passed since the child was indentured, April 9, 1865, and everybody told him that the law did not interfere with this case.

The Chief-Justice said the questions in the case were so grave and important that he would be advised by the argument of counsel on the part of the claimant. He would adjourn the Court until to-day at 9 o'clock, in order to give the claimant or any person interested in the child time and opportunity to appear. If no person appeared he would dispose of the case.

The Court convened at 9 o'clock this morning, when the Chief-Justice delivered the following decision: The petitioner in this case seeks relief from restraint and detention by Philemon T. Hambleton of Talbot County in Maryland, in alleged contravention of the Constitution and laws of the United States. The facts as they appear from the return made by Mr. Hambleton to the writ, and by his verbal statement made in Court and admitted as part of the return are substantially as follows: The petitioner, Elizabeth Turner, a young person of color, and her mother were, prior to the adoption of the Maryland Constitution of 1864, slaves of the respondent. That Constitution went into operation on Nov. 1, 1864, and prohibited slavery. Almost immediately thereafter many of the freed people of Talbot County were collected together under some local authority, the nature of which does not clearly appear, and the younger persons were bound as apprentices—usually, if not always, to their late masters. Among others, Elizabeth, the petitioner, was apprenticed to Hambleton by an indenture dated on the 3d of November, two days after the new Constitution went into operation. Upon comparing the terms of this indenture, which is claimed to have been executed under the law of Maryland relating to negro apprentices with those prescribed by the law of Maryland in indentures for the apprenticeship of white persons, the variance is manifest; the petitioner under this indenture is not entitled to any education; a white apprentice is to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. The petitioner is liable to be assigned and transferred at the will of the master to any person in the same county. The white apprentice has a property in the work of his minority, but over the petitioner is described in the law as a property and interest; no such description is applied to authority over a white apprentice. It is unnecessary to mention other particulars. In the case, I regret that I have been obliged to consider it without the benefit of any argument in support of the claim of the respondent to the writ, but I have considered it with care and the utmost desire to do justice to the claimant. For the present I shall restrict myself to a brief statement of these conclusions without going into the grounds of them. The time does not allow for more. The following propositions seem to me to be sound, and they decide the case:

First: The first clause of the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States is a prohibition against any servitude except as a punishment of crime, and establishes freedom as the constitutional right of all persons in the United States.

Second: The alleged apprenticeship in the present case is involuntary servitude within the meaning of these words in the amendment.

Third: If this were otherwise, the indenture set forth in the return plainly contain important provisions for the security and benefit of the apprentice which are required by the laws of Maryland in indentures of white apprentices, and therefore, the manifest intention of the clause of the first section of the Civil Rights law enacted by Congress April 9, 1866.

Fourth: This law having been enacted under the second clause of the Thirteenth Amendment, in enforcement of the first clause of the same amendment, is constitutional, and applies to all conditions prohibited by it, whether originating in transactions before or since the passage of the law.

Fifth: Colored persons equally with white persons are citizens of the United States.

The petitioner, therefore, must be discharged from restraint by the respondent.

THE PULPIT'S OPPORTUNITY.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

Now is the time for ministers of the Gospel to give up political preaching. We are satisfied that the majority of those pastors who have mixed politics with their theology in the course of most recent years, have done it against their better judgment. They have yielded to the fashion of the times, to the example of powerful and successful preachers, to the real (or supposed) irresistible current of feeling in their congregations. We have always held them, as a class, to be above the sordid aims of politicians. They have not preached politics for money, nor for vulgar applause, but because they had not sufficient moral strength to resist the tremendous pressure which was brought to bear upon them by church conventions and assemblies, and by active and influential occupants of the pews. In some instances, the pressure from the pews was more than mere imaginary. The pastor, observing the tendency in other churches, sought to anticipate it in his own, and, with unnecessary precipitation, put himself at the head of his flock, and led it into politics. Still, as a general rule, the motive power, when it did not originate outside of the church, came from the pews, and forced the pastor to write political addresses under the name of sermons, and pray for the success of a party more than for the coming of Christ's kingdom. Their Bible was their textbook—their point of departure, chiefly in the sense that they departed from it—but their text-book and ology was too often taken from newspaper editorials and from the platforms of excited public meetings held during the previous week. Many preachers reflected the varying shades of radical sentiment so truthfully that by stepping into their churches on Sabbath, a person could learn the condition of the political atmosphere as from a barometer. There was a little garniture of religion in the reading of the Scriptures (not always selected with reference to the day), and in the short prayer possibly, and in the formal benediction beyond any doubt, but these were merely trimmings to the huge hot joint of pure politics, at which the preacher cut and came again.

This political preaching has been the shame and scandal of Christ's Church. It has been the prolific cause of infidelity not only outside of the Church, but within its pale, among the pew-holders. At first it was a curious novelty, and pastors found their congregations increased, perhaps, a hundred fold. Men flocked to political churches as they went to the opera, or to Barnum's circus, to be excited and amused. They could argue and they could laugh there at every smart political hit, freely and without rebuke. It was religion made easy, and, like virtue made easy, it was very little of it at all where you came to look for it. Newspapers were used to advertise these political sermons in advance. Partisan journals published the sermons the next day, not omitting the cheers and laughter where they properly came in, and flattered the preachers in editorial articles. A great deal of the hard work of the campaign was put upon their shoulders. Some of them talked politics not only two or three times every Sunday, but could evening during the week. They were too willing to work, they were too zealous in their new cause, and they overdid it. Satiety in the congregation soon followed the excess in the preacher. The outside attendance fell off; many of the pew-owners who had lived the thing while it was new, got sick of it at last, and these preachers finally found themselves in the condition of men who, having taken a dose too potent, feel compelled, out of regard to consistency, to maintain it at all hazards. In this resolve they have been encouraged and sustained by small but active knots of politicians, who give tone and direction to our churches. There are clergymen who have seen their flocks scattered beyond recall, and their churches sold out or turned into places of amusement before they could summon courage to retrace their steps to religion pure and undefiled.

Now is the time for ministers to weed out politics from their religion. The political reaction which we see the signs all around us, and a protest against political preaching from numerous other errors and follies. The reactionary feeling affects all classes of society, in all their relations. We believe that if a show of hands were called for in the churches of the country, a majority of votes would be found in favor of excluding politics from the pulpit; or, if the sentiments of the church-members should be equally divided, we believe that there would be an equally general acquiescence in the pastor's determination to eschew politics for the future. Pastors would be surprised to discover how cheerfully their people would now follow their lead out of the miry paths of politics back to the ancient trodden ways. They must, by this time, be satisfied that it is impossible to get out of revival politics by going to the end of it—for it has no end. The possible crotchets of the radical mind are infinite. Political preachers never can say that their work is done, and lay off their harness. "Revolution" is still the cry, and always will be, of the frantic agitators who occupy the van of radical movements. They care nothing for the Church, except as it aids them in their dangerous ventures. While they must ever despise it. This fact is made very clear in the last number of Wendell Phillips's organ, which says: "Churches and the clergy are, as formerly, for the most part, but make-weights or a positive drag where they should be foremost in leading the nation in the light of immutable, fundamental Christian principles through its present difficult and dangerous pass." This is the gratitude which the political clergy receive from those who have sought to dictate their style of preaching for a number of years. How much longer will ministers of the Gospel submit to these hardest of taskmasters!

CAN RECONSTRUCTION BE REVERSED?

From the N. Y. Tribune.

SOME of our Democratic friends are working themselves into the belief that the reconstruction policy adopted by Congress can be reversed, and the laws passed last Winter for the reorganization of State governments on the basis of impartial suffrage can be repealed, by Democratic victories this Fall. Suppose the victories won, what would be the result? No members of either House of Congress can be elected until 1868. It would be in vain to ask the present Senate and House to repeal the laws which by a two-third vote they have adopted, and return to the President the policy of reconstructing the South on the basis of the white vote only, nine-tenths of which are rebel and pro-slavery. For nearly two years after President Johnson came in power, the policy of reconstructing on the White vote only was fully tested. Its fruits were the Black Codes of South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, and other States, for the re-enslavement of the freedmen, debarring them from owning lands, hiring homes, disposing of their labor or services and providing them the knout and the lash as a substitute for wages, and the Fugitive Slave law, with its bloodhounds, as a remedy for discontent.

Laws were passed by the legislatures and municipal governments elected by the white vote only, disarming the colored soldiers who had fought for the Union, taxing every colored person, excluding by colored men, limiting their right to testify as witnesses in court, and to meet in public assemblies. Not a single law providing for the education of freedmen was passed. Not a single law invoking and repealing the ordinance of secession were wrung from them only by moral coercion and under protest. But further than this none of them could be driven, and they gave up the war, and conceded all rights to the blacks. A black man must hire out for the whole year during the most disadvantageous season, viz.: the first weeks in January, thus excluding him from all employment in agricultural and rural labor, for in no others would employers hire for so long terms; he was forbidden either to buy or hire a house or land, thus breaking up that first and highest element of freedom, the ability to acquire all its members to live as menials in white families or field hands on white men's plantations. If permitted to testify in court at all, it was before a judge whom he had no vote in electing, and a jury from which all of his race were excluded. Justice, to him, was an impossibility. A different code of rights, of punishments, of taxes, was made out for him from that which governed the white race. If these and harsher and oppressive laws needed enforcement, a rebel sheriff was authorized to call upon a rebel governor, who summoned into the field the same rebel militia who had participated in the attempt of freedom, and the same officers, and whose organization was continued under the name of State militias. The race thus sought to be oppressed were two-thirds of the people in South Carolina, three-fifths in Mississippi and Louisiana, and one-third in the entire South. The blacks saw that their coveted liberty, proclaimed by Lincoln, was vanishing under a Rebel rule and the Government of freedom, and cried out in agony that their condition was tenfold worse than when in slavery. Then they had each but one master, and his heart might soften. "Now," said they, "we serve a mob, and it is merciless." Negro-killing became the amusement of the chivalry. If a negro looked impudently, he was shot. If he dared to be industrious, his property was destroyed. If he sought higher wages, he was sent to jail for idleness. If he got out of work, he was sold as a slave. Fifteen hundred murders of negroes, for which nobody was arrested, were reported in South Carolina, three hundred were recorded, and went unpunished, in every Johnsonized State. The Freedmen's Bureau and our military officers were powerless to stop this incipient war against the liberty for which we had fought. The Bureau was too few, and its power too limited. Rebels and Democrats were equally furious in denunciation both of the Freedmen's Bureau and of our military occupation of the South, which served to keep the rebels trembling lest it come an immediate return to slavery. The President, to stop the "irritation" of the late rebels, was too rapidly withdrawing the troops and working to abolish the Freedmen's Bureau, and proposition was made to put power than it afterwards proved toward universal suffrage. Evidently, it was in vain to look to the white vote of the South for the remedy. That was, at the time, the Democratic remedy and the Congress. That body had not have proceeded with greater deliberation. It proposed to the white vote of the South a scheme by which it might still rule the negro with absolute power, and provided that each Northern man's vote should have the same weight in electing representatives in Congress as that of each Southern voter, and that certain classes of rebels should not hold Federal offices. The South rejected with scorn any proposition by which they could not send Lee and Davis to the Senate, or vote for them for the Presidency. They demanded with equal hauteur that their old power of voting not only for the blacks but for the blacks, should not be invaded—nay, should not be enlarged by emancipation, so that the whites who formerly voted for three-fifths of the blacks, should have one added to their aggregate with the power of one full vote for every colored man at the South, whether that colored man should vote or not. They demanded that a white rebel South Carolinian's vote should not only vote down two loyal disfranchised black South Carolinians, but three New Yorkers, making five in all.

Still Congress deliberated for another year, until the unmistakable voice of the people in condemnation of the President's policy, and the culmination of the outrages of the white suffrage system in the riots and massacre at New Orleans and Memphis compelled them to enact by law some just and statesmanlike plan for restoring loyal governments to the South, and the Southern States to Congress. For two years the white vote had been the only renewing rebellion, exercising sovereignty, and "organizing hell." What the South needed was a new constituency—in love with freedom and loyal to the Union. Congress called it into existence by extending suffrage to the blacks. Immediately, the impending war of races was changed to a wondrous scene of billing and cooing, in which leading rebels vied with each other in accepting the situation, and in patronizing and fraternizing the freedmen. Even Johnson the negro-killer desisted from their chivalrous pursuit, not knowing how soon blacks might have the lawful power to punish them. Legislatures allowed blacks to testify. The sun of justice began to have its sweating brow of oppressed labor. The thought of restoring slavery was no more. In all but the mere formula of electing State governments, and admitting representatives to Congress, the South was at peace. The ballot was peace!

What if a President is sworn to secure the peace did not come by his plan, and did come by another?

What if some [illegible] of laggard Republicans [illegible] come [illegible] polls and vote to sustain these results as th[illegible] to? Does that mean that the [illegible] has [illegible] to reverse impartial suffrage, [illegible] very process which, discounted in advance by the whole South, has brought peace ere yet a ballot has been cast? Does it mean that we are to [illegible] the black race, and with it the white of the South again to slavery? By no means! The Democratic party can as well repeal emancipation or the Declaration of Independence as impartial suffrage. Whatever may be the course of future elections reconstruction will, beyond peradventure, go on in the manner enacted by Congress, and a refusal to co-operate therein by the rebel vote of the South will only result in their self-exclusion from all offices and power in the State and National governments. If they by their inaction voluntarily hand over the government of their States to the blacks, theirs be the blame. We have reason to believe the blacks alone would prove quite as good governors as the whites alone have been. They certainly could do no worse, either for the South or for the Union.

THE SOUTHERN SPIRIT—INSECURITY OF THE NEGRO.

LETTER FROM COL. FORNEY TO THE PHIL'A PRESS.

WASHINGTON, October 16, 1867.

THE white man's party, headed by Jefferson Davis, C. L. Vallandigham, and George H. Pendleton, has not waited long after the recent elections frankly to disclose its plans. In my letter of the 13th I predicted that these plans would start with the restoration of the white traitors, and the withdrawal of the right of suffrage from the blacks, leaving the white Union men of the South entirely at the mercy of the rebels. This theory was objected to by some of my friends, on the ground that suffrage, having been secured to the freedmen, could not be taken away by any power, much less by the traitors. The Richmond *Enquirer* and Charleston *Mercury*, however, have just taken ground, not only to make good my prediction, but to show that the unholy alliance have resolved to make a clean thing of it, by the restoration of the traitors on the double basis of depriving the negroes of their votes and of overriding their white friends in the Southern States. The articles from which I quote have been published since the election, and they show that the rebel spirit has placed no other construction upon the recent elections in the North than that these elections were intended to return the blacks into worse slavery than they suffered before the rebellion, and to place the authors of that rebellion once more in command. The Richmond *Enquirer* says:

"Negro suffrage will not be established here, *except through our own fatal and mistaken co-operation*, if we will be firm, patient and discreet. There may be some so-called elections and conventions under the revolutionary edict of Congress; but the people who will not allow a few thousand negroes to mingle their ballots with those of half a million of whites, will not support a scheme or a party which proposes to put negroes by their sides in Congress, and endow them with the votes of whole States in elections for President!

"In short, the results in Pennsylvania and Ohio, with the other like indications, are the knell of that plan of 'settlement' which is such only in bitter irony, and the public mind will now turn to more rational views. The road to national tranquillity is still long, may be; but it is shorter than it was, now that we are going to the front in the right direction! The Radicals had put up false finger-boards, and turned the backs of the people upon peace, and led them away, while professing to travel towards it!"

But the Charleston *Mercury* is still more candid, and deliberately asserts that "nothing but a strong standing army of white men could have enabled the negro to rule the white race of the South," and that "negro suffrage in the South was nothing but a war of races." Such would have been, argues the *Mercury*, the effect of the reconstruction policy if the Republicans had carried Ohio and Pennsylvania on the 8th of October; but now that they have been defeated, the *Mercury* asserts that it would be "sheer madness to attempt to force it upon the Southern States," and furthermore, "if they insist upon clinging to this issue of negro suffrage, and attempt to force it into operation by revolutionary violence and the bayonet, their fall will only be deeper and more damning." This threat is followed by the prediction of "personal and bloody retribution on the revolutionists and tyrants who shall attempt to enforce it." But read the *Mercury's* own language:

"We cannot but think that these elections must have a most conservative effect over the whole United States. Negro suffrage in the South was nothing but war—a war of races—which must be fatal to all peace or quiet in the South, and to all progress, in re-establishing the productive labor, in its industrial pursuits. Nothing but a strong standing army of white men could have enabled the negro to rule the white race of the South. His ascendency could only be temporary. But now, with the majority of the Northern States, and all the white race of the South, constituting a vast majority of the population, opposed to negro suffrage, it is sheer madness to attempt to force it upon the Southern States. It must fail; and the only question for the majority in Congress now to consider is this—shall they urge this policy upon the Southern States, and thus keep in action and intense exasperation an issue on which it is plain they have been and must be beaten, and which, therefore, must fail; or will they give it up at once, and leave the public mind to be engaged on other issues, which may give them some chance of recovering their lost popularity and power? If they insist upon clinging to this issue of negro suffrage, and attempt to force it into operation by revolutionary violence and the bayonet, their fall will only be deeper and more damning. It may even bring with it personal and bloody retribution on the revolutionists and tyrants who shall attempt to enforce it. Of such angels of holiness, peace, and purity from New England as Thaddeus Stevens, Benjamin Wade, Benjamin Butler, and Ashley and Logan, of course no one can expect them to come out of their wallow of hate and filth. But will not such men as Messrs. Fessenden and Sherman see the hopelessness of success in their policy; and have the wisdom and humanity to arrest it, and save to the country the alternate paralysis and convulsion it must produce, if pressed to temporary completion in the South?"

It is hardly necessary to add that we do not believe those who voted the Copperhead ticket in the late elections (unless it be the ignorant and depraved, who have sympathized with the rebellion throughout, and who seem to prefer to live under a worse slavery than that from which they escaped when they left their homes in foreign lands) would ever have touched that ticket if they could have been convinced that they were simply helping to restore the blacks of the South to slavery and the white rebels to power. They were repeatedly admonished that precisely these consequences would follow their opposition to the great Republican party. But, like the experience prior to the rebellion, such men cannot be brought to realize their duty until they feel the sharp pressure of the traitor bayonet at their breasts. The great care taken by the Copperhead leaders to suppress the exultations of their followers, and particularly of the rebel chiefs, has not prevented the latter from frankly announcing their savage determination, and we must therefore look for the very worst intelligence from the South. Indeed, the National Congressional Committee is receiving information by every mail, which shows that these threats of the Richmond *Enquirer* and the Charleston *Mercury* are not vainly made, but are to be fulfilled, cost what it may. And why should it not be so, when we reflect that these incarnate traitors, covered as it were with the blood of the innocent, and confessing that they were guilty of the blackest crime in human annals, find themselves applauded and endorsed, and in fact invited back to power by the very people who conquered them? It is in vain for men who voted the Democratic ticket to say that they did not intend these things, or, rather, that they did not believe it possible that their verdict would be construed as a verdict in favor of the authors of the rebellion. But the boastful authors of the civil war could not resist the temptation of tearing off the mask.

We must now look at the other side of the picture—the testimony of the Union men of the South, received since the news of the recent elections fell upon them like a thunderbolt from a cloudless sky. I give you a few extracts from such letters as have been placed in my hands by the Secretary of the Congressional Committee:

"Under date of Portsmouth, Va., October 13, an intelligent gentleman says: 'The Northern elections have been a sore blow to the Southern Republicans. Being myself somewhat acquainted with political history, my nerves are unshaken; but the rebels and Northern doughfaces are jubilant, and I seriously anticipate trouble on the day of election, particularly as there are no regulations for the preservation of the peace, and the number of voters in this city requires more precincts than are provided.'

"Another correspondent, writing from Scott county, in the same State, says: 'It would not surprise me if the rebels beat our convention, especially if the election comes on a stormy day. In many of the counties and districts our men have to walk ten miles to the polling places, and that, over the mountains, is a good days work. The poor Union whites have few horses, and the blacks none at all. The bad news from Ohio and Pennsylvania gives the traitors immense satisfaction.'

"An intelligent colored man writes from Macon, Georgia, under date of October 11, as follows: 'Dark and dismal is the sky in this region of country; the frightful news from Pennsylvania and Ohio, if correctly telegraphed, saddens the friends of liberty, and makes [illegible] conservatives rampant. Storekeepers, who a few days ago were humble and courteous, now exhibit as much hate when a colored man or a Union man enters their doors, as they did before they plunged the country into war. I have just returned from a Southwestern tour, and, from the way my speeches were received by the whites, I was [illegible] hopes of a great victory; but now, if we carry the State at all, it will be only after a desperate effort. Our late educational convention in this State, lasting [illegible] days, and composed of delegates from every part of the State, including some white Republicans, was a grand success. The sentiment is increasing among the leading colored men; but if the Copperheads, [illegible], and foreigners carry the Northern elections, we will have to flee for our lives. I am proud to say that if ever a people were struggling for their rights it is the freed people of Georgia. Eight men from Macon, nine from Savannah, seven from Augusta, and a host from other cities and villages, have gone into the field and are battling nobly for the Republican party, and we are resolved not to be discouraged until we find that Congress has deserted us, when God knows what will become of us.'

"A gentleman, writing from another point in the same State, says: 'Reconstruction is fairly progressing, notwithstanding the Democrats are carrying the North, but it gives the Southern people great hope, although they have not their usual confidence in their Copperhead associates. I hope the first thing that Congress does will be to remove the Cotton tax; it is doing no good and exciting much unnecessary feeling. The colored men have determined that none of them will be candidates in this district. In the Fourth and Seventh districts our ticket is composed of sound, well-educated white Union men, and in the Ninth district the colored people have declined to present one of their own number.'

"Two letters from Florida, one dated Mariana, October 6, and the other Jasper, October 8, send cheering news; though the writer of the latter says: 'The amnesty proclamation has done much to put back reconstruction here. Those who were fast becoming Union men now turn against us and say they can vote under that proclamation, and are not dependent upon Congress for anything.'

"A colored canvasser, writing from Raleigh, N. C., under date of October 12, says: 'The counties through which I have passed are populated by white and black people, who are strangely ignorant of all the doings of the outside world; but we have been compensated by the warm welcome that has been extended to us, and the gratitude expressed by these people that the Republican party is showing some care for them. I mean not only the blacks, but the poor whites, who are in the same thraldom as the freedmen. When I have spoken, my remarks have always been addressed to both sides. I appeal to their reason, showing the different features of the two parties, showing what the one never did, and what the other is always doing for humanity and civilization; what Johnson, as the representative of the Democrats, is doing against us, and what the Republican party is doing for us. Under the able and untiring efforts of Gov. Holden, the State seems to head its course onward and upward, though the effects of the Pennsylvania and Ohio elections have made our people very despondent. Yet, for all this, with Holden in our lead, the Old North State will come back into the Union under the banner of the Radical Republican party. In Craven county the blacks are considerable in the majority and encouraged by the patriotic efforts of the Republican newspaper, the zeal and ardor of Col. Heaton, president of the First National Bank of Newbern, the good cause is sustained even against two Conservative journals in that city.'

"A colored speaker, writing under date of the 13th, says: 'The rebs and Consevatives are full of frolic at the aspect of affairs in Ohio and Pennsylvania. But things look bright, notwithstanding, and shall work on steadily with God on our side.'

"A writer from South Carolina, under date of October 8, says: 'I am a native of North Carolina, but have been in this State twenty years, during sixteen of which I have passed through a fiery ordeal, having opposed secession in 1851 and '52, in 1860, during the war, and ever since. Although we have a large majority of Union men in this district, we have severe trials to pass through, but we will win. We have but one Republican paper in this State, the Charleston *Advocate*, and need more.'

"Another correspondent from the same State, under date of October 5, says: 'I am often called away to plantations, but I invariably speak to the freedmen in a body, and explain to them their situation. They are very eager to hear, and walk frequently twenty miles, and even more, to listen to a Republican orator. Last Wednesday I noticed a number of new faces. I asked them where they came from, and what they had come for, and learned that they had walked twenty-two miles, hearing that some gentleman was to address them. I invited them in my office, which they soon filled, and there I explained their situation and the situation of the country as well as I could; told them what their friends in the North expected from them; advised them to labor diligently, to educate themselves and their children, and to be sober and good citizens. Then I handed each of them a spelling book, and, after reading part of Senator Wilson's speech at the Massachusetts Convention, that of Schuyler Colfax at Lebanon, and others, they left me very much pleased. I could give you some interesting and startling sketches of the manner in which the rebels and old planters treat these poor men. God only knows what would become of them if Congress and the Northern people withdraw their friendship.'

"A gentleman, writing from Yazoo City, Mississippi, says: 'The programme of the rebels is to defeat us by keeping the freedmen from the polls. They will succeed in every county where there are no intelligent, working Republicans. We have hard work, but as we are toiling for our lives, we dare not give way.'"

Let the Northern people study this picture in the light of the recent Copperhead victories and rebel threats, and remember that every vote thrown against the Republican party is a stab at the cause of the Union in the South, and an encouragement to the wicked men whose treason and cruelty sent so many hundreds of thousands of patriots to premature graves.

OCCASIONAL.

JUDGE LAWRENCE UPON IMPEACHMENT.

IN the Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, for the last session, now just published, in a speech which was not delivered in the House, but printed by permission under the rules of the House, by Judge William Lawrence of Ohio, in which he summed up the grounds upon which he favored impeachment. The special significance of the language lies in the fact that Judge Lawrence is a member of the Judiciary Committee, and this speech is looked upon as a recital of the charges upon which the President will be arraigned, if at all. An interesting statement of the extent to which this speech reflects the opinion of the rest of the members of the Judiciary Committee will be found in our *Tribune*, Oct. 19, Washington dispatch. We quote as follows:

"The military power cannot, without the sanction of Congress, establish permanent civil governments in times of peace. When flagrant war ceased an 'extraordinary occasion' had arisen, which made it the duty of the President to convene both Houses of Congress. Refusing to perform this duty, which he knew to be necessary for this and other purposes, he issued seven solemn proclamations, assuming to appoint seven civilian provisional governors, holding no military commissions, and without the advice and consent of the Senate. By these proclamations he usurped the power to create an office unknown to the Constitution or the laws: to fill that office with incumbents holding by the tenure of his pleasure, without the advice and consent of the Senate, with salaries fixed by no law but his will, and to be paid out of the public treasury, in violation of the law. He assumed the power to clothe these officers with authority; to cause elections to be held for members of conventions; to create State governments by amending State constitutions in a mode different from that prescribed therein, and without the sanction of Congress. He prescribed the qualifications of electors and members of conventions, requiring of each an oath not required by former constitutions and laws of the States. By his edicts he enfranchised every rebel in these States who would take the oath he prescribed, and excluded loyal freedmen, constituting nearly one-half of the population of these States, from all right to participate in the elections, or otherwise in political power. He put it in the power of rebels, contrary to his former convictions of duty, to institute governments forever denying freedmen the political and civil rights of citizenship. The President assumed the right to determine when the new State governments should go into operation, requiring the provisional governors to remain in the exercise of their functions until relieved by his express direction.

"A President whose conduct is marked by acts which may define him a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people, and deserves impeachment. In thus devising the scheme of disfranchisement, the President seems to have been guided by a purpose to speedily secure power to the rebel States, rather than by a sense of duty, if he did not act contrary to his own convictions expressed at an earlier date. This usurpation by the President is clearly impeachable, and the mode by which he sought to accomplish it, and force it upon the country, not only aggravates the crime, but, in view of his motives, constitutes additional grounds of impeachment. To achieve his purposes he was guilty of many unnecessary and unauthorized usurpations and acts of oppression. He held the liberty of the press subject to his sovereign will and control, suppressing the publication of such newspapers as he disapproved, and permitting them to resume publication contrary to the advice of Gen. Grant, by exacting a pledge to support the policy of his administration, when he was advised that his order was improper and mischievous in its tendency. He held large portions of the rebel population in abject servility, not as a measure of safety to the government, but that he might bribe support of his policy by the exercise of the pardoning power. He has restored to rebels property of the value of many millions of dollars, in violation of law and in disregard of the rights of loyal citizens. He has, without authority and without consideration, and in violation of the law, transferred to corporations controlled by rebels, railroads constructed by the government in part at the cost of many millions of dollars, as he has also other property used for insurrectionary purposes. He has, without authority and in violation of law, sold railroad rolling stock and other property of the value of many millions of dollars on long credit, with insufficient security, for less than its value, to corporations controlled by rebels, and when payments fell due he has corruptly and without authority suspended the performance of their obligations. He has prostituted the power of appointment to and removal from office to the maintenance of his policy, regardless of and to the great prejudice of the public interests; corrupting by it, as far as possible, all who were base enough to abandon principles, and exerting it in a spirit of proscription, and to an extent unknown in any former administration. He aimed a blow at the Constitution and the liberties of the country, by refusing to submit appointments to office to the Senate for their advice and consent, and by retaining men in office regardless of that body. He made an order removing all penalties from a large number of persons marked as deserters on the rolls of the War Department, for the purpose of securing the election of a favorite candidate for Congress in West Virginia, regardless of duty and without evidence. He assumed a power to dispense with the acts of Congress, and appointed rebels to office in violation of law. He refused to execute laws for the punishment of traitors, or for the confiscation of their property, or that used for insurrectionary purposes. By his proclamation of April 2, 1866, and by other acts, he assumed to himself the right to determine when war had ceased, without consulting the law-making power by whose authority alone war can be made and peace declared in cases of rebellion. The assumption of a power to declare peace, or to say when or how long the laws of war shall continue, is simply power to terminate war at the pleasure of the President, and might be made fatal to the national existence. While these usurpations were being practised, the President maintained the operation of martial law in the rebel States, suspending from the right to hold office under the so-called State authority whomsoever he chose, while retaining the right to try civil offenders by military commissions, and to punish at his pleasure. His conduct encouraged rebels to murder, in cold blood, unoffending citizens, in the exercise of their peaceful rights. Professing to regard Louisiana as a regularly organized State, he, in violation of the Constitution, authorized the Attorney-General of that State, a notorious rebel, to call on the national military authorities to aid in the work of suppressing a lawful and loyal assemblage of people. And though there was "an absolute massacre," "a murder without necessity," by a rebel mob in New Orleans, no one of the guilty perpetrators have ever been brought to justice or punishment. While thus giving encouragement to rebels to suppress a loyal and lawful assemblage, he refused military aid, when demanded by the Governor of Tennessee, to preserve peace and execute the laws. Assuming the right to require illegal conventions to be held in seven States at his pleasure, he denied the right of a legal Convention to be held in Louisiana. While many thousands of loyal citizens, including freedmen, were murdered without cause by rebels during his work of reconstruction, the President failed to cause the guilty perpetrators to be arrested, tried or punished, and forcibly dissolved a military commission in Virginia, sitting for the trial of an acknowledged murderer, whom the civil autorities failed to punish, and he is to-day at large and unmolested. He has brought reproach upon himself and degraded the dignity of his office by indecent harangues to the people, and has denounced Congress as "a body called, or which assumes to be, a Congress of the United States, while in fact it is a Congress of only a part of the States."

THE PROSPECT FOR IMPEACHMENT—IMPORTANT ADMISSIONS OF A MEMBER OF THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE.

By Telegraph to the Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Friday, Oct. 18, 1867.

A special dispatch to the New York *Evening Post*, regarding impeachment, has been the subject of some controversy here. That dispatch, among other things, states that the members of the Judiary Committee now here declare that the majority of the Committee favor impeachment, and are confident that the project will receive the approbation of a majority of the members of the House. The correspondent who sent this dispatch and another party made a wager to-day as to the accuracy of the telegram, the authors affirming that a member of the Judiciary Committee, Judge Lawrence, from whom the information was obtained, would, upon interrogation, state that he knows, of his own knowledge, that the statements in the dispatch are true. Parties this evening visited Judge Lawrence, read the paragraph to him, and informed him of the character of the controversy. The reply of Judge Lawrence was that the dispatch, taken altogether, is true. His attention was directed specially to the sentence above quoted, and he was asked to say whether of his own knowledge he could say it is true that the two members of the Committee heretofore opposed to impeachment are now in favor of it. To this, Judge Lawrence replied by repeating that the dispatch taken as a whole is true, but he added that he would not make an affidavit that the two members referred to (Wilson and Churchill) are now in favor of the impeachment of the President; but he believed they were, and he assigned as a reason for this belief that he had received a letter from a member of the Committee, stating that Mr. Wilson favored the project, and that he had certain other evidences that Mr. Churchill will agree to report a resolution recommending impeachment.

The sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee had a session to-day, but did little in the way of business, on account of the non-arrival of witnesses. The full committee will meet here on the 13th ult. to resume the impeachment investigation, and to complete the same, in order to have their report ready on the day of the meeting of Congress.

COLORED JURYMEN IN NEW ORLEANS.—A Grand Jury, composed in part of colored men, was impannelled in New Orleans on the 14th instant. Judge Thomas addressed the jury as follows: "Not only are your actions to be watched by our immediate community, but they will also be by the entire nation—for the problem whether you gentlemen of color are capable of discharging all the duties of the citizen is now about to be solved. Let me assure you that the labors you are now called on to perform, savor much more of duties than of privileges. Privileges given the citizen necessarily impose certain obligations. The privilege of voting in this State carries with it the obligation of serving on both grand and petit juries. Therefore, gentlemen, do not entertain the idea that any right has been achieved by your being called here to-day.

Garibaldi, after having been reimprisoned at Caprera, and while guarded by three men-of-war, issued the following proclamation:

"CAPRERA, October 2, 1867.

"ITALIANS! To-morrow we should have set the seal to our glorious revolution, by giving the last blow to the tabernacle of idolatry, to Italian shame and imposture.

"Papacy, the pedestal of tyranny, is anathematized by the entire world. All nations gaze to-day on Italy as on their Redeemer.

"And for the arrest of one man, shall Italy recoil in fear from the glorious mission?

"In adherance to the desire of certain friends, I returned to this, my dwelling place, free and without conditions, with the promise that they would immediately send a steamer to reconduct me to the continent.

"Now, if the man whose name is the synonym of Italian shame, by the dint of his police tricks, should hinder that return, all that I ask of my fellow-countrymen is that they march onward to the sacred goal that they have prefixed, with the calm and majesty of a nation that feels its own power.

"To the army and people I preached discipline, when people and army, disgusted with the cowardly servility of their government, clamored to be led to Rome.

"To the soldiers I said that they ought to keep their bayonets for nobler use; that for Papal mercenaries the butt ends of their muskets would suffice.

"Despite the genius of Evil which still weighs upon our soil, there is great consolation in the fact of the powerful fraternization of the robust and formidable elements of the Nation—Army, People, Volunteers.

"Woe to any who would throw down the apple of discord among these brothers. When Italy shall count her compact ranks of children marching toward her final redemption, the few existing cowards will take courage, and the silly fears of foreign intervention will cease.

"I repeat, therefore: You must go on with the redemption of Rome at any cost. But if you deem me necessary for the accomplishment of this aim, I suppose you will find means to liberate me.

"G. GARIBALDI."

The Rev. Rowland Connor's society is denied admission to the State Association of Universalists by 95 to 16.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1867.

NATIONAL POLITICS.

THE main question at issue in the pending Presidential campaign, however it may be disguised, is the still uncertain political status of the negro. We observe since the humiliating defeat of the Ohio Amendment, a disposition on the part of some Republicans to blink this out of sight. It is noticeable among those who are the special friends of Gen. Grant. They are disposed to avoid the issue by dodging it, or thrusting it aside. Happily the situation is such that the cowardly, trimming policy is most inexpedient. The nearer we approach the presidential contest the more apparent it will become that there is really no middle ground left for a party of "betweens," of any numerical consequence, to stand upon. The result of the recent Democratic victories, in developing out the bad humor which still poisons the Southern white blood, demonstrates that a triumph of the old school "Democracy" in the national election would be simply a rebel victory won by ballots instead of bullets.

Enough has already reached us from the South to render this clear. The columns of the N. Y. *World* indicate from day to day that it needs only a Democratic ascendancy in the House to effectually checkmate the present plan of Reconstruction, and to bring back again to their old seats in Congress the red-handed traitors who deserted them for the theatre of war a few years ago. The *World* had a single day of sanity, recently, in which it acknowledged the great mistake of the Democratic party in its treatment of the slavery question, and promised better things for the future. It could hold out only for the day, however, and is back again to its "flesh pots," as of old. Such ground proved untenable. The *World* finds on its side, as sundry "conservative" Republicans will learn by-and-by, we trust, on theirs, that in the mighty changes which are taking place in American politics, the middle ground has disappeared, and that the party of success must be a positive, aggressive force for or against something. We have no doubt that some of the more intelligent of the Democratic leaders would prefer to be on the side of justice and real democracy, provided they could transfer their troops with them; but alas, their constituents are too thoroughly impregnated with whiskey and negro-hate to render such a transfer possible. The old alliance between Northern and Southern Democratic leaders is renewed. In common, they now seek the triumph of the "lost cause" in the sphere of politics. They find much comfort, and not without reason, in the October elections. We are prepared to hear renewed shouts of rejoicing from them after the elections of next month. The directness and energy with which they follow up their recent gains will, we presume, be more than a match for the half-hearted and apologetic canvass made on the other side.

The only effective opposing force, with which successfully to cope with the rebel-Democratic alliance in the sphere of politics is out-and-out, unadulterated Radicalism. The "conservative" Republican policy has been tested, and is a failure. The advance which has been made from time to time has been in spite of the "practical" managers, and not in any sense as the result of their wisdom and forethought. We have had Johnson's mulish and sometimes frantic opposition, cooperating with the earnest radical under-current among the people, and thus have gone forward, lifting the dead-weight Fessendens from one successive level to another. It is most unfortunate for our cause in this State, at this juncture, that Johnson allowed himself to be over-persuaded not to make a speech after the Ohio and Pennsylvania elections. But we cannot and ought not to depend upon the excitement of an unnatural stimulant to ensure success. Disciplined by the recent defeats, and other losses foreshadowed in the near future, the radical voices, lately modified, or silenced in the Republican ranks will again be heard and heeded.

Our clients, the blacks of the South, are an element of strength not to be ignored or overlooked in the reorganization of political forces now going on. They are, and will continue to be, the allies of the genuine Radicals of the North. With this alliance will rest the future balance of power. That party will be wisest which best meets the reasonable demands of the newly enfranchised black race, and of the sincere and earnest advocates of an impartial, enlightened democracy. It will not be enough to simply gain the organization of State governments in the South, upon the basis of the present Congressional plan, and then withdraw the military protection of the Federal arm, and leave the recently emancipated, landless blacks to the chances of an unequal struggle with the rebellious white land-monopolists of that section of the country. The blacks of the South are entitled to homesteads on the soil, which their unrequited labor in past years has paid for many times over. They have not only earned a title to such homesteads, but it will presently be seen that a landed foothold will be absolutely indispensible to maintain their political freedom. Those immense, undivided estates are, by the laws of war, really the property of the Federal government. They are now in the possession of their present occupants only by the treachery and bad faith of the usurper of the White House. It remains, therefore, a duty of Congress both to depose Johnson, and to dispossess the rebellious occupants of the large landed estates, fraudulently conveyed to them by the traitor President. Next, to provide for the division of those estates, and to guarantee homesteads of forty acres each to the now dependent landless blacks and loyal poor whites, and also to preempt similar claims in favor of the soldiers of the Union army. Such a confiscation, and distribution of the Southern lands, which are rightfully the property of the Federal government, if parcelled out and sold at merely nominal rates, would put an immense sum in the National Treasury, end forever repudiation schemes, and, if combined with a wise educational system would secure the freedom and independence of the blacks and the poor whites; make welcome provision for a deserving soldiery, and in promoting the general welfare, bless even the cursing rebels themselves.

The Radical standard cannot be lowered. In the face of the enemy to be confronted that would be as inexpedient as it would be unjust. Southerners are still occasionally threatened with confiscation provided they reject the present Congressional reconstruction. The threat implies the right to confiscate. It is not only the right, but a duty which Congress owes to our only true friends in the South. The one thing now most needed is to take the dangerous power of a rebellious land-monopoly and transfer its strength to trustworthy and deserving parties. This question of land and education in the South, as connected with the ballot for the negro, the Republican National Convention will have to meet. So, also, will the standard-bearer to be chosen by that Convention. There is no need of faltering or compromise. The present Congress may and ought to do promptly the work we have indicated. Added thereunto it can also choose a President, if the votes of the people, in a possible contingency, should fail to elect.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE decision by Chief-Justice Chase (which we publish elsewhere) in relation to the Apprentice laws of Maryland is timely and beneficent. It will liberate several thousand victims who were, to all intents and purposes, held as slaves, and reunite many families hitherto cruelly separated under the disgraceful Maryland laws.

This decision also involves incidentally another, as to the binding force of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, except as a punishment for crime. Our own theory is that the approval given by the loyal States was sufficient to give validity to the Amendment as part of the Constitution. Mr. Seward's proclamation, it will be remembered, enumerated also the bogus States of Johnson's creation, as having contributed to the legal vitality of the Amendment. Those "my policy" States have vanished into thin air. The validity of the Amendment, however, is unquestioned by the Chief-Justice.

In this decision Mr. Chase reflects credit upon the nation, and makes an honorable record for himself. It is a new thing for Americans to be able to look to the head of the Supreme Court for "aid and comfort" for the proscribed race. Is it too much to expect that we may some day get a President who shall be possessed both of a head and a heart?

The demonstrations of the old Southern spirit called out by the "Democratic" triumphs in Pennsylvania and Ohio are significant, and prophetic as to what might be expected if that party should again come fully in possession of the government of the country. We invite attention to the extracts from the Southern-rebel press which we present on our first page. That the blacks of the South, in any event, will consent to be disfranchised and re-enslaved we do not expect, but that a serious and revolutionary conflict would follow a general "Democratic" ascendency in politics we do not doubt.

We have had frequent favorable responses from different parts of the country in relation to the Impeachment petition, of which we have sent out several thousand copies. One correspondent writes from Iowa that he obtained eighty signatures of legal voters in a few hours after receiving it, and was continually enlarging the number of signers. We also receive frequent calls for additional copies for distribution in localities not reached by those we have previously sent. If the nation is imperilled and disgraced by the presence of the treasonable usurper in the White House beyond the first week of the reassembling of Congress it will be because of the timidity, the intriguing and corruption of Republican Senators and party managers, and not the fault of the loyal masses. One correspondent, who has the petition in hand, in a New England town, not a great distance from the home of Senator Wilson, meets frequently with the objection, that if the impeachment movement is pushed Johnson will resort to force, and so bring new troubles upon the country. All agree that he *deserves* impeachment. Our response is that, if such be Johnson's mood and purpose, he cannot, for the safety and good of the country, be tested too soon. His first move in that direction should be promptly met by Gen. Grant with military arrest. If thus met, Johnson's resistance would be of slight moment, even though Gov. Swann's militia might be ready to serve him with alacrity.

If Gen. Grant could not be depended upon in such an emergency, and would disappoint the loyal people, that, too, it is important to know. It would be especially desirable that the test be applied before the Presidential nominating conventions. While, if the Lieut.-General should side with Johnson in such a contest against Congress, it would seriously embarrass the situation it would by no means ensure the success of his resistance in the interest of treason. Andrew Johnson is to-day the recognised head and leader of the rebel hosts. They now seek to gain, with his cooperation in the Executive chair, what they failed to achieve in open rebellion. Full victory on our part demands his removal. The genuine radicalism of the country will be satisfied with nothing less.

The situation of affairs in Italy is full of uncertainty for the future. Latest telegrams (Wednesday) report Garibaldi again upon the main-land, in command with his son. It seems probable that the untoward influence of Napoleon will thwart the revolution sought by the Italian patriots.

The Petition for Equal Suffrage for Women in the District of Columbia, which we print in another column, we hope may be generally signed, not only by the women of the District, but throughout the country.

We observe with regret that Sénator Pomeroy of Kansas, concedes, in advance of the election, that the amendment in his State extending suffrage to women, is quite certain to be defeated. We hope he will be proved by the voters of Kansas to be mistaken in this, and that this important amendment, with that enfranchising colored men, will be triumphantly adopted. It would be a victory of immense value not merely, or mainly, in Kansas, but for the cause of radical Republicanism and human progress throughout our own country, and in Europe as well. Let every possible stone be turned to swell the Radical vote of Kansas on the fifth of November next.

WE invite the attention of clergymen generally to an old story in a new setting, reprinted elsewhere from the New York *Journal of Commerce*, from which they will learn that *now* is the time t abandon "political preaching!"

WE ask the particular attention of our Pennsylvania readers to the notices of the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society and the Festival in Philadelphia; and of meetings elsewhere.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

THE accompanying Petition has just been issued by the Impartial Suffrage Association of Washington. Every person who reads it, and who knows that the one just basis of National Reconstruction, and hence the only safe basis, is "the consent of the governed," should cut out the Petition, circulate it in his immediate neighborhood, and when he has secured every name, return it, as directed.

If there is but one name, send that; for, with the truth, it will weigh more than all the lies which now make fifteen million of American women the political companions of felons, fools, lunatics, and unpardoned rebels.

LUCY STONE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled.

We, the undersigned, citizens of ——, in the State of ——, petition your Honorable Body for immediate legislation to secure to Woman the right of Suffrage in the District of Columbia.

Please circulate and return to the Universal Franchise Association, Box 732, Washington, D. C.

CORRECTION.—In Rev. Beriah Green's article of last week, the fifth line of the second paragraph should read "in his history;" in the eighth line of the third paragraph read "factitious;" in second column, fifth line of second paragraph, read "retired corner or in the —"; in the sixth line of third paragraph read "sublimer."

PERSONAL.

The Rev. J. W. Chadwick of Brooklyn is announced to deliver a course of monthly religious lectures, beginning with the first Monday evening in November.

The Boston *Christian Register* says: As Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Lynn, was leaving the cars at Dover, N. H., last Saturday, he fell, dislocating his shoulder and receiving a severe shock. He is doing as well as can be expected.

The Hon. Thadeus Stevens, in a private letter referring to the late elections, says: "Sick as I am, I take this occasion to thank God for our late defeat. The Republicans have been acting a most cowardly part and have met a coward's fate."

Lucy Stone will accept a few invitations to lecture on "Woman's Right to the Ballot," during the coming season. One of the earliest, she is also one of the most eloquent and effective advocates of equal political rights for women. She may be addressed, P. O. Box 299, New York.

Sallie Holley, who is lecturing with excellent effect in Central New York, is expected to speak at Peterboro, N. Y.—the residence of Hon. Gerrit Smith—on Sunday next, the 28th inst. We are indebted to Miss Holley for frequent additions to the list of new subscribers for THE STANDARD.

Mr. L. F. Harrison, the enterprising and eminently successful Director of Steinway and Irving Halls, recently telegraphed to Charles Dickens an offer of an engagement for readings for one hundred nights at *two thousand dollars per night!*

It is expected that Mr. D. will read in this city, at Steinway Hall, early in December.

Col. R. J. Hinton, of Washington, who went to Europe in August, arrived in this city on Monday last, after a prolonged and rough passage. Col. H. collected during his absence a large amount of valuable information in relation to the European co-operative and industrial associations, which he proposes to arrange and present to the public in a volume, to be issued at an early day by a well-known publishing house in this city.

Major James Haggerty, of this city, has received the Republican nomination for County Clerk. He would make an efficient officer, and should he triumphantly elected. Major H. is an eloquent campaign speaker and lecturer. He advocated radical doctrines when they were much more unwelcome to the public than at present. The Republicans, and all friends of good government in this city, would do themselves credit by securing his election.

Graceanna Lewis, of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, will give instruction in the Natural History of Birds, to Classes, Schools and Colleges. It is not intended, by these lessons, merely to interest and amuse the learner; but, while these objects will be kept in view, efforts will also be made to use the feathered tribes in all their beauty and attractiveness, as a means of affording an insight to the wonderful order found in every portion of creation.

The Rev. Wm. S. Heywood, formerly of Hopedale, and a son-in-law of Rev. Adin Ballou, was installed as pastor of a Liberal Christian church at Scituate, Mass., on Friday, the 11th inst. Rev. Samuel Robbins, of Wayland, was chosen Moderator, and Rev. George W. Stacy, of Milford, Scribe. The services were conducted by Messrs. De Normandie, Start, Hale, Samuel Robbins, Adin Ballou, Winkley, Fish and Stacy. Mr. Heywood is a true-hearted man, catholic in spirit, clear sighted and radical in thought. We congratulate his congregation upon having gained so worthy and useful a teacher.

A Washington telegram to the Philadelphia *Post*, Oct. 21, says: "Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, reached here last evening. He returns home in a few days, to be present at the coming State election. He says the elections of Pennsylvania and Ohio have had little effect on the campaign in Kansas, except to make the parties work harder. He has been canvassing the State, and thinks the Republican ticket will be elected by a large majority. The Manhood Suffrage Amendment to the State Constitution may run behind hat will undoubtedly be carried. The Female Suffrage Amendment, he says, will surely be defeated."

Mr. W. J. Linton, the well-known English artist and author, arrived in this city from London on Monday last. His wife, Mrs. E. Lynn Linton, also widely and favorably known as a writer, intended to accompany Mr. L. to this country, but is detained, for the present, in London, by the severe illness of their daughter. Mr. Linton has nearly ready for the press a new work on Engraving, upon which he has expended much labor, and of which it will not be too much to predict that it will be the best of its class in the department of art literature.

Mr. Charles H. Farnham (son of Eliza W. Farnham) who has spent much time in Paris in thorough study of the Galin method of musical instruction, will open classes in vocal music in this city, in the Church of the Ascension Lecture-room, No. 63 West Eleventh street, on the 28th inst. It is the special claim of the Galin method that it is at the same time the most thorough and the most rapid course of study; that by it the ability to sing at sight and to write music under dictation can be easily acquired by all persons. Mr. Farnham is enthusiastically devoted to his profession, and is thoroughly well qualified for the work he has undertaken, and we doubt not will have largely-attended classes.

John J. Merritt, of Brooklyn, a lay-preacher of the Society of Friends, was excommunicated by the New York Monthly Meeting at a recent meeting, for speaking too frequently and freely without the sanction of the Elders, a privileged class known as the "Select Meeting." Mr. Merritt was one of the most intelligent, useful and liberal members of the Society, and had grown to too large a statute to be welcome in fellowship with the unthinking conservatives who would preserve the Society in a quiet which shall know no awakening.

We understand that one of the results of his disownment is likely to be the establishment in Brooklyn of a Free Congregational meeting, upon an independent, broad and thoroughly catholic basis.

Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, writes, in a letter to citizens of his State: "On a late public occasion, where many of you were present, *I expressed my perfect willingness to see impartial suffrage established at the South*, and I believe that this opinion is entertained not only by a large majority of the intelligent and reflecting whites, but also of the same class among the blacks. I deprecate universal suffrage, not only on general principles, but especially in the case before us, because I deny the right of Congress to prescribe the rules of citizenship in the States. The Supreme Court has decided that a negro is not a citizen of the United States, and Congress cannot reverse that decision by an act. The States, however, are competent to confer citizenship on the negro. We have recognized the freedom of the blacks, and have placed this fact beyond all probability of doubt, denial or recall. *Let us recognize, in the same frank manner, and as fully, their political rights.* For myself, I confess that I am perfectly willing to see a constitution adopted by our State conferring the elective franchise on the negro, on precisely the same terms as it is to be exercised by the white man, guarding against the abuse of this privilege by establishing a slight educational and property qualification for all classes."

Capt. George J. Martin of Atchison, Kansas, Chairman of the District Committee of the Impartial Suffrage Association, writes: "Please correct the following paragraph which appeared in your valuable paper of the 5th inst:"

"'Rev. Olympia Brown, who has spent the last two months in Kansas lecturing for Woman Suffrage, has just returned to her Church in Weymouth, Mass.'

"Miss Brown has not returned to her church, and does not intend to do so, until after the election in this State this Fall. She is now engaged in a very able, efficient and laborious canvass of northern Kansas. She canvassed southern Kansas in August and September. After she has finished her present programme (which runs to Nov. 4th), she will have made a very profitable and thorough canvass of the State for Impartial Suffrage."

as she speaks for the Negroes well as for Woman. She lectures, very popular and school-mouse, and delivers two lectures in a day, and preaches twice and three times on Sunday. She has made more speeches, I think, than any other public speaker who has ever done more hard work than she has, in behalf of the dear enslaved people of this State. She says if the dead enslaved succeeds, she will be amply paid for all her labor. God grant success, that her desires be realized. Miss Rosebrook has gone, and may her labors be blessed. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton are also laboring earnestly and profitably in the good cause.

"The Hutchinson Family are very popular, and are doing much good through the influence of their sweet and characteristic songs. We believe both propositions will work. If Wendell Phillips, Fred. Douglass, Miss Anna Dickinson and Henry Ward Beecher would come and make eight or ten speeches each, I think our labors would surely be crowned with success. God grant that the right may prevail."

A *Tribune* Special Correspondent, who has visited Carlisbad at Caprera, writes a very interesting letter, dated Caprera, Oct. 1, from which we extract as follows:

"As we reached the island, Bason took me up a short cut across the rocks, and despite my utter indifference to all save getting to Garibaldi, made me admire the plowed fields, the shrivelled vines, the scant olive trees, etc. We found Garibaldi with the commander of the Guinare. 'I expected you,' he said with a smile. 'How did you know I could get to you?' said I. 'Oh, I knew you would turn up somehow.' He took me into the dining-room, where I found a long table, I cannot say 'spread,' as not a shred of linen was to be seen, but covered with plates and surrounded by Teresita and her children, Mameli, Anzani, Canevaro, Ariets, and in the arms of his wet-nurse, were Lincoln, Ariets, and in the arms of his wet-nurse, were John Brown, born on the continent last July—plus Proskauer, a load farmer; Bacherini, 'the engineer,' alias carpenter, sailor, fisherman, etc. The little woman and her child were courteously welcomed; Garibaldi laughed and said that he wished the government would pay him in quarantine for a year, that he need would put him in quarantine for a year, that he and provisions for that time, his granaries being full, and that they should only have to receive such visitors as shared his fate and not be bothered. The commander of the Esplorotore, who sat by, looked very miserable. He is a Neapolitan, behaved splendidly in 1860, and evidently does not relish the office of jailer. After dinner, Teresita, enchanted to have a companion, ordered 'Marsala' and a white mare, which Garibaldi mounted, and he rode off, 'but when, with infinite difficulty, that had been accomplished, and we were mounted, down came the General and dismounted us in a trice. 'Were we mad to risk our necks on horses that had run wild for seven months?' There was no appeal, so Teresita proposed a walk. I agreed, and, from sheer shame to turn back, followed that matron through bushes, up impossible paths, over stone walls, till, by crawling, or scrambling, or springing from ledge to ledge, we reached the topmost peak of Caprera, and in the rays of the setting sun looked on such a panorama as I have never seen before; and what was more to the purpose, I gleaned such information of the coast as may serve in case of need. When we reached the house it was dark; the General, who had been watching us with the telescope, gave us another scolding, and asked whether I thought he kept a surgeon to mend his visitors' broken necks. Poor fellow! Once that peak, to which only one who knows the secret can go, was his favorite watch-tower; now he never quits the plain save to go to and fro the shore. After supper—of fish and cold kid—he told me that apparently he was free, but that he knew in reality that he was a prisoner, and that he should force the government to unmask, and that done, should know how to conduct himself. At 4 a.m. the following morning, Teresa and self, piloted by Barberini and Bason, rowed to the Guinare, with a wounded Garibaldian, well versed in fish for *frigile* and *tidings*. As we returned we found the Commander of the Esplorotore and the Commander of the Guinare on the shore, looking very shame-faced. They asked Teresa if her father would receive them. She said, 'Oh, yes;' and we mounted a bullock-cart laden with lime, and went on to announce the visit. The visit must have been curious. Garibaldi told the Commanders that 'their government was a government of felons, of oath-breakers.' The Commander of the Esplorotore went away with his eyes full of tears; but I don't like the look of the Commander of the Guinare at all."

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

The following arrangements have been made in reference to the meetings in November:

1. To hold the meeting for Wendell Phillips on the 5th Nov., at Kennett Square, Chester Co.

General meeting in the day time; the evening specially devoted to hear Wendell Phillips.

2. To hold the meeting for Wendell Phillips on the evening of the 6th of November, Wednesday, in the Horticultural Hall, West Chester. See West Chester papers and placards for the hour of meeting.

In the afternoon the Executive Committee of the State Society wish to hold a conference with the members and friends of the Society residing in and near West Chester. The place and hour will be named next week.

3. To hold the Annual Meeting of the Society in Philadelphia, at Franklin Institute Hall, Seventh st., south of Market, on the 8th of November, Friday. One session from 10 to about 4 o'clock.

4. To hold the Festival or annual social gathering in the under hall of the Horticultural Building on Broad street, near Spruce street. Doors open at 5 o'clock. The lecture from Wendell Phillips to be at 8 o'clock precisely, in the main hall.

Further details in a future number. See the circular signed J. K. Wildman.

The object of these Meetings is to keep the public mind alive, by direct appeals, and to collect means to continue the effort through THE STANDARD for securing Freedom to the Freedmen.

Some one is needed in each locality to take the lead in this work, and it is earnestly requested that any one who sees this, and is willing to work, will send at once their name and address to

E. M. DAVIS,
Chairman of the Committee.
Box 568, P. O., Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA FESTIVAL.

THE following circular has been prepared for distribution by one of the Festival committee. It is sent to THE STANDARD with the belief that it may meet the eye of many of our friends who will be glad to aid us in some way indicated:

To ——

In behalf of the Festival to be held in this city, on the 8th of November, we solicit your aid and co-operation. There are various ways in which service may be rendered, and we trust that our friends will generously heed this appeal.

Contributions in money, large or small amounts, may be handed or sent to Edward M. Davis, 333 Walnut street, or Box 568 Post Office.

Suitable articles of provisions, such as chickens, hams, tongues, bread, butter, cake, fruit, etc., etc., may be sent to Charlotte L. Peirce, 501 North Seventh street.

You are authorized to sell tickets, which will be 50 cents each, admitting to the Festival and Wendell Phillips's Lecture. Tickets for reserved seats, 25 cents extra. Whatever number you may dispose of will be furnished on application to Ellen M. Child, 634 Race street.

Festival between the hours of 5 and 11.

Lecture at 8 o'clock.

The help of many hands will be needed at the Festival, and we hope our young friends especially will offer their assistance.

By order of the Committee.

J. K. WILDMAN, Chairman.

DONATIONS TO SOJOURNER TRUTH.—We have received from one ever-thoughtful and generous friend, Rev. Photius Fiske, of Boston, ten dollars for Sojourner Truth, and shall be glad to be agents for forwarding other gifts.

FIRST ANNUAL Convention of the PENNSYLVANIA PEACE SOCIETY, at Franklin Institute, Seventh street above Chestnut, Philadelphia, Thursday, Nov. 7 1867, at three and half past seven o'clock.

DEATH OF MADAME LOUISE DE MORTIE.

Dr. J. B. Smith, M.

Dr. J. B. Smith, formerly of Norfolk, a literary valued correspondent in the cause of emancipation, and of equal political enfranchisement for the colored race, died of yellow fever in New Orleans on the 3d inst.

We learn with deep regret that on the 10th inst., among the added victims to that dreadful disease was MADAME LOUISE DE MORTIE. The announcement of her death will be received with heart-felt regret by numerous friends at the North. It will be especially sorrowful to the orphans and the friendless of New Orleans, to whom she was as a mother and true friend. Her labors have been very heroic and unselfish. It will be long before her vacant place can be completely filled. She was a woman of rare natural endowments, and of more than average culture. With real, native refinement, and an unusual lively pleasing address, conscientious, and large-sympathetic, she was eminently well qualified for the work from which she has been too soon removed.

The New Orleans *Tribune* of the 11th inst. says: "We are pained to have to announce the death of this most estimable and philanthropic lady, whose demise occurred yesterday morning about ten o'clock. After the proclamation of emancipation, when the poor freedmen were thrown helpless and friendless on the hard road of life, after they had been physically and intellectually crushed under the weight of slavery, this noble woman came from the North and employed her talents and energy in alleviating the fate of the newborn to freedom. Mrs. De Mortie began her praiseworthy mission in this city as a public lecturer, the incomes of which she employed in assisting several of our charitable ladies in establishing an asylum in which the freed children were raised, with as much care and kindness as maternal tenderness could procure. Mrs. De Mortie loved her little children, as she used to say while speaking to the orphans under her charge, with the affection of a mother.

"At the time of Dr. J. B. Smith's death, Mrs. De Mortie had just recovered from the yellow fever, and though the weather was very bad on the day of his funeral, Mrs. De Mortie assisted in rendering the last tribute of respect to the memory of that good man. Getting wet, she had a relapse which terminated her useful career.

"She was the matron of the Orphans' Home, and the children reared in that institution have lost one whose place will not easily be filled.

"Mrs. De Mortie having met here with an aunt, whom she had not seen for over twenty years and to whom she was much attached, had resolved to make New Orleans her residence.

"Mrs. De Mortie was born in Norfolk, Virginia, and was aged 34 years. She had been educated in Boston, Massachusetts."

The New Orleans *Tribune* of the 12th inst., speaking of the funeral of Madame De Mortie, says: "The remains of this truly good and estimable lady were accompanied last evening to the St. Louis Cemetery, No. 2, by a long cortege of friends, who had so often admired her for her philanthropy, patriotic love, and eminent talents. Madame De Mortie had lived among us but a few years, but she was no stranger to our people; her good work was legend, and her name was cherished by all. The appearance of the poor orphans who followed the funeral procession, was a token of the strong affection of those little ones who had found in Madame De Mortie a mother. The funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Newman, who enlogised in eloquent language the life and character of the deceased. The funeral service was performed by Rev. Turner."

The New Orleans *Republican* of the 11th inst., says: "It was with deep regret that we announced yesterday the death of Madame Louise De Mortie, the late estimable matron of the Orphans' Home. This remarkably brilliant and talented lady was formerly of Boston, Massachusetts. She sacrificed no small reputation as a fine elocutionist, regardless of the protestations of distinguished friends in the North, to concentrate her whole talent and energy to the establishment of an orphan asylum. This effort was greatly needed four years ago for the reason that so many children were orphaned by the exigencies of the late war and thrown helpless upon Christian charity.

* * * * * *

"She admirably surmounted the many difficulties attendant upon the commencement of such an enterprise. Readily gaining the sympathy and co-operation of some of our excellent citizens, she induced them to form themselves into an association pledged to sustain an orphanage. Upon conditions which were complied with, a generous Parisian gentleman donated $10,000 for the building of an asylum of which she would be matron.

"In her rare power of address and commanding presence, together with her enthusiastic consecration of self to the work made her successful up to her death. She left many appreciative circles of friends in other cities as well as this, to say nothing of her doubly orphaned charge, to sincerely mourn her loss."

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, writing of the death of Madame De Mortie, says:

"The announcement of the death of this gifted and estimable lady, at the early age of thirty-four years, will be read with deep regret by her large circle of friends at the North. In the Autumn of 1863, Mrs. De Mortie began as a public reader in Boston, and her rare ability, eloquent rendering of the poets, pleasing manner and good sense, gained for her a host of admiring friends, among whom were some of the leading men and women of the country, and a successful literary career seemed to be before her. But hearing of the distress and want amongst the colored children in New Orleans, left orphans by the war, she resolved to go there and devote herself to their welfare. Although urged by her relatives and friends at the North, to leave New Orleans until the yellow fever had ceased, she refused to desert her post, saying that her duty was with her helpless race. She bore her illness with Christian fortitude, and in her last moments said, with a child-like simplicity, 'I belong to God, our Father.'

"There is now in hand in New Orleans, $30,000, given for the purpose of erecting a building for the Orphans' Home, of which the deceased was the founder. It is to be hoped that the good work will be carried on.

W. W. B."

LETTER FROM MISS HIGHGATE.

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 12th, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

DEAR SIR: One by one the self-sacrificing workers in the great cause are leaving us, "bearing their sheaves with them." Those who leave this portion of the field are missed most, for the reason that we have had only a very few. On the 1st of this month Dr. J. B. Smith, of Boston, fell a victim to the prevailing epidemic. His loss is great beyond description to this State just at this political crisis. His excellent, radical, consistent course quickly won for him hosts of friends among the loyal element in this city. His judicious advice, always welcomed, is greatly missed, by the many who went to him for counsel in political and humanitarian measures. He strove faithfully for the re-establishment of the city public schools upon so equitable a basis that the blackest child could be as readily received as the whitest. Mrs. Louise De Mortie, the self-sacrificing and heroic matron of the Orphans' Home, who attended Dr. Smith's funeral, herself died one week from its date, of a relapse of yellow fever. She needs no eulogy of ours; her asylum is her sublime monument. The eighty little helpless orphans of her charge are the eloquent utterers of her praise and wailers over her death. Should her successor be found, no one is expected to fill Louise De Mortie's place—for she is the peerless of that Asylum. We can only pray the Lord of the harvest to send more laborers into the field, who can accept their succession, though it be in the path of death, as bravely as did these noble ones just gone before.

Yours, still firm at the wheel,

EMMONIA G. HIGHGATE.

RADICAL PEACE MEETINGS.

On the 22d of September and the 20th of October the Pennsylvania Peace Society held meetings in Germantown and Gaynedd (Pennsylvania), the Friends having generously opened their meeting-houses for that purpose. Thoroughly radical testimonies were presented in behalf of the cause, and among the earnest speakers were those faithful veterans James and Lucretia Mott, the latter speaking for over an hour, although physically weak. The meetings were large and interesting, and several other meeting-houses have been tendered to the Society. The annual meeting will take place November 7th, at Franklin Institute, afternoon and evening. That week promises to be an important one for Pennsylvania, as a Convention of Negroes will be held there for Mutual Advancement, Fred Douglass and Peace, at the first of which Wendell Phillips and the peace-

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, October 20th, 1867.

An ecclesiastico-theological matter, which has created considerable interest in these parts for a month or two past, has just been settled by the State Convention of Universalists lately held at Milford. The occasion was for receiving and recording Rev. Benjamin Cronyn, and the Fraternal Association of Universalists, which has recently chosen him its Pastor, into ecclesiastical fellowship. The matter was debated warmly, and at considerable length, and Mr. Connor made a long and able argument a catechetical cross-examination. According to the reports in the daily press, he not only avowed his belief in and acceptance of the "Winchester Confession" (the theological standard of Universalists) but he freely accepted also the dogmatic points which they have so much at heart, namely, "the Lordship of Christ" "the Inspiration of the Bible." If these points contained the whole of the case, the Convention should (and probably would) have given him the right hand of fellowship, in spite of the intriguing manœuvres of his late colleague, Mr. Miner. But they considered it very suspicious that he further declared himself to be "an inquiring position"—as if there one might still be settled the other one—and they charged him with duplicity in claiming to hold at once *their* ground on the matters above mentioned, and the diametrically opposite ground taken by the "Free Religious Association" which met, last May, in Horticultural Hall. They therefore, by a very large vote, refused the fellowship in question.

Those who have formed their idea of Universalists from the assumptions and insinuations of the Orthodox press concerning them, will probably be surprised at the state of things thus revealed in that denomination; but it seems true, whether the fact be regarded as a virtue or a fault, that the majority of Universalists hold as strongly to creed and dogma, and insist as pertinaciously upon some of the points called "evangelical," as their orthodox opponents.

Per contra—let me here make honorable mention of a very remarkable recent instance in which a man of the Orthodox faith has preferred truth to the claims of his creed, and made open declaration of it. Rev. Dr. T. E. Curtis (late Professor of Theology in the University at Lewisburg, Pa.) has taken this ground in his recently-published book called "The Human Element in the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures." This duodecimo volume of 386 pages, published by Appleton of your city, tells how the studies of its author from year to year in his Theological professorship gave him a constantly-increasing assurance of the following points, namely: that the inspiration of the writers of the Old and New Testaments did not protect them from error: that these writings nowhere claim to be infallible, and that no one can justly make this claim for them, inasmuch as manifest errors, both of fact and doctrine, appear in various parts of both: that, in regard to the question—what, in these books, is error, and what is truth?—we must decide, as in other matters, by the use of reason: and, finally, that the anxiety which many feel "lest, in yielding respect to the reason God has placed within them, they should be refusing to walk by faith in His Revelation of Himself in the Scriptures," is often caused "by the want of a sufficiently broad consideration and honor of God's *other* Revelations of Himself in Nature, those elder Scriptures; in Providence, where God daily unfolds His will; in History, where His past doings are made prognostics of His future plans; and in Religious Experience, where the Spirit of God reveals his will direct to the Christian consciousness."

Dr. Curtis declares, as a matter within his personal knowledge, that "in all the Evangelical denominations a growing number of the most intelligent and influential ministers" are moving toward the same conclusion which he has reached; but he finds, also, that the traditions of the system restrain them from speaking with candor, and from making any concessions not absolutely wrung from them by the force of circumstances. Thus it comes to pass, he says, that "the tendency of much of the teaching in our Theological Seminaries is to stifle deep, thorough and candid inquiry on all these points; and therefore to leave our ministry quite unprepared for the work of the age before them." "It is this religious *reticence*," he thinks, "that is now most to be deprecated." By the writing and publication of this book he has fulfilled the duty which truth and the times demanded of him as a Christian minister. To gain an unshackled position from which to do this work, he found it necessary to resign his Professorship of Theology; but the manly and candid attitude which he now takes, his fair report of the various conclusions developed in the literature of the subject, and his just estimate of the respective merits of the various writers upon it, will place the book eminently worthy of notice. If the sects disregard it, so much the worse for them; the lesson will out be lost upon "the world," however carefully "the church" may stop her ears.

A great interest is felt here, as elsewhere in the country, in regard to the approaching arrival of Dickens, and the chance (for those who have money enough) of hearing those readings or recitations which have been so extensively praised in England. Meantime, of course, people are speculating, according to their kind, as to how the author of "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit" should be received here. Will he again take the liberty to make fun of this great nation? Will he again find faults and follies among us, and again set the whole world a laughing at them? Shall we standon our dignity, and refuse to compliment him by hearing and praising his readings? Shall we be magnanimous and bear no malice for the satire formerly exercised upon us? The matter is debated in all these ways, in the street and by the press. One newspaper writer well suggests that, before undertaking to play the "magnanimous" with Dickens, we should consider whether his former criticisms were not perfectly just, thus meriting gratitude rather than complaint on our part. The right course for those who dislike censure is to cease to deserve it, and to cultivate a more intelligency in the nation to allow us to hope for exemption. Is our metropolitan press better now than it was in the days of "Jefferson Brick" and "The Rowdy Journal?" Is our vulgarity less, is our prodigacy less, now than then? We have abolished slavery—on paper; but the pro-slavery spirit still remains, and abundance of free expression is given to it by the periodical press, in city and country. Is our self-styled Democrats are clamoring for a "white man's government," while persons are subject to insult, plunder and murder without governmental protection in so large a portion of the country, and while churches and "Young Men's *Christian* Associations" content themselves with distributing tracts to these persecuted people instead of standing forward in defence of their rights as men and citizens—my opinion is that we need Dickens to criticise us, even more than to amuse us.

It is known that, heretofore, refusal has been given to several applications by women for admission to the course of instruction in the Medical School of Harvard University. Two ladies who applied this year met with the customary refusal, but, on making application to the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital for permission to follow, with the other students, the visits of the Physicians and Surgeons there, their request was granted, and, no objection being made in any quarter, they are now enjoying this very important part of a medical education.

Since the objection of the Faculty of Harvard College to receive female students of Medicine has caused reproach to fall upon them from various quarters, it seems but fair to mention some extenuating circumstances, which are thought, by so competent a judge as Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, to show that they have been hasty in their action. She thinks that the letter refusing the applications above mentioned, took the ground that "no provision had been made in that school for the medical education of women." This was considered by many persons as a mere evasion of the difficulties attending a new experiment. But Mrs. Dall, in a recent letter to the *Advertiser*, admits that elaborate provision is needed before male and female students of medicine could be profitably associated in the same institution.

She thinks that, as children growing up in a family need the watchful care of both father and mother, so, if Harvard College opens its doors to women, it should at once institute a new female official to complement the Plummer Professor, and offer such suggestions as to morals and manners among the young women as he is understood to do among the young men. There should also be, she says, "a lady to fill the position which Mrs. Dassmann holds at Oberlin—a lady, who shall inspire such confidence in the parents of young women as that of Oberlin does in those of the young men. Parents of such single sons will, of course, think that of both sexes should spring a paternal watch and ward outside the class room—outside the classes, it is true, but not entirely settled by the Oberlin experiment, that such supervision, the operations of which are felt in the same school is highly salutary.

Further, Mrs. Dall thinks that proper accommodation for such a school would require separate lodging-houses, and separate boarding-houses for individual study in dissection, chemistry and the use of the microscope. She thinks that over the police, and the persons subjected to the reform organization, "I feel more financial work before them." When facilities are provided, or assured by respectable guarantees for the proper trial of this great experiment, the intellectual reality will no longer refuse their countenance (?)

NORCIS.

THE VIRGINIA REBELS—A RADICAL CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON.

"Consider, take advice, and speak."—*Judges* xix: 30.

THE words "your minds" are annexed by our translators; they seem superfluous. They weaken the content meaning of the Hebrew text.

This proclamation, so terse, so rousing, was sent forth because some in Israel had been guilty of great wickedness. That glorious cause of the human race—Manhood Suffrage—has met a most unexpected and mortifying foe from the State of *Ohio!* Let me assure "all whom it may concern," *that Ohio vote greatly emboldens the rebels of Virginia.* I could give scores of illustrations—look at only one: At Guilford Station (Loudon county), on the "Loudon and Hampshire railroad," I heard several rebels exulting over the election news from Pennsylvania and Ohio, and one, the most influential, loudly proclaimed (seemingly addressed to his associates), "*We shall soon see the Yankees all run as fast as they did after the first Bull Run battle.*"

Come, Radicals! from North and South, of *all* complexions, let us meet in the city of Washington, D. C., early in the approaching December. We will "consider," consult, "speak." Yes, so plainly, and so earnestly speak, that the Congress of the United States shall hear, and Andrew Johnson shall ever remember that we did "speak."

I am writing at an early hour of the day. I began as soon as I could see. As soon as I have eaten my breakfast, I expect to avail myself of the precious privilege of voting for our excellent candidates for our expected Constitutional State Convention, Maj. O. E. Hine and Rev. L. M. Nickerson. They are tried men. If the Radicals of Virginia should succeed, very well; we shall "thank God and take courage." If we should be defeated, it will be emphatic needful to insure ultimate and permanent triumph—for the way will *thus* be opened for an awakened and energized Congress to make *thorough* work with our "Reconstruction."

J. R. JOHNSON.

Herndon, Fairfax county, Va., Oct. 22, 1867.

MR. EMERSON'S ORATION.

BY REV. BERIAH GREEN.

NO. VI.

"We are all agreed that we have no better men to show than Plutarch's heroes. Julius Cæsar and Plato were great men."

HARPER'S WEEKLY EMERSON.

"*Plutarch's Lives*," I suppose, gives us his "heroes." To only one of those does Mr. Emerson, in this connection, expressly introduce his readers. *Julius Cæsar* he describes as a "great man." Thus distinguished, he may fairly be regarded as a hero in Mr. E.'s sense of the word; as one, than whom according to Mr. E., "we are all agreed, that we have no better men to show!"

Now "a great man"—"a Hero"—must, *as such*, be intensely, broadly, grandly HUMAN. Possessing a character and history, most Humanity in him be fitly and greatly embodied and manifested. His wisdom, magnanimity and strength—his lofty enterprises and gigantic achievements, he must have derived from obedience to the laws on which Human Nature was constructed. Thus he becomes royally a Man—a Hero.—Such an One, does not Mr. E. find in JESUS CHRIST! Him, does he not *transcend* as naturally the Ideal of the Grandest Human; as royally distinguished among men for wisdom, magnanimity, power—for intense and comprehensive piety, united with a broad and effective philanthropy? If he has not assumed the responsibilities and claimed the honors, appropriate to a Christian minister, I know not why his name appears as such in the Triennial of Harvard College; or why he accepts an invitation, as a Boston paper assures me he has recently accepted, to accept an invitation, to occupy the Pulpit as a Christian minister. Does not Mr. E. regard Jesus Christ as on every occasion and in every relation, sublimely a Man; pre-eminently and therefore *representatively* "a great Man"—a model Hero? And are not all heroes essentially alike—alike as profoundly, broadly, grandly HUMAN—as yielding a full and grateful obedience to the Laws of Humanity—as greatly distinguished for piety in the presence of the Father and philanthropy among their Brethren?

Now, according to Plutarch's representation, ought I to pronounce Julius Cæsar a hero? His biographer describes him as flagrantly and grossly in conflict with the principles on which Human Nature was constructed—as the vassal and victim of unbridled, imperious passion—as ambitious, sensual, unscrupulous. He might have been cunning, shrewd, enterprising and effective in providing for his animal gratification at the expense of all the decencies and all the proprieties; may I, therefore, magnify his name as heroic? "*A great* MAN?" Huge and stout as a monster he might be! Eager and adroit in intrigue, in the wholesale butchery of human victims, in the commission of adultery, he doubtless was, if Plutarch is worthy of confidence; but surely he was far, *far* away from the least approach to Heroism.

Those, whom my age accounts as heroes, are an index of its character. They are its authorized exponents—its chosen representatives. It lives especially and intensely in them; THEREFORE *it pronounces them heroic.* If Mr. Emerson and his friends are "all agreed that we have no better men to show than Plutarch's heroes," then of what account are "the great strides in natural science" which the "present century" may have witnessed? The moral bearing of this "boasted" progress, must, according to Mr. E., be powerful enough; for, according to him, it lifts the student above a "narrow sectarianism!" And this without making him "a better man?" But "better" he cannot be, if the Heroes, who represent him, are no better than those of Plutarch. And if he is not a better man, what good has he derived from any progress in natural science, which "the present century may have witnessed?" Jesus Christ no better than Julius Cæsar! And the disciples of the former no better than the adherents of the latter!

At all this, however sad I may be, I am not surprised. Among us, Mr. Emerson is "a representative man." Are there any who, as a scholar and an instructor, occupy in the general mind a higher position? The popular sentiment in this country finds in him one of its truest, happiest exponents. Now, among those who admire Mr. E., is not *Abraham Lincoln a hero?* How widely and how loudly is he not magnified as the GREAT EMANCIPATOR—a magnified picture-wise, speech-wise, deed-wise! And yet, this American hero glorified in being, in his most applauded movements, under the control and at the mercy of the majority! "Great strides" must have been taken in some direction before Heroes could be manufactured out of such material! This man stubbornly refused to strike a blow from the chain of slavery at the demand of Democracy! He attempted whatever he did in behalf of the oppressed at the *urgent behest of imperious Necessity!* Just such a Hero as indicates the direction of the wind on the steeple of a sectarian meeting-house!

A progressive age, surely! Why, according to Mr. E., "the rail-roads, the mines, the marine and inland telegraph, etc.," produce heroes! And "what Heroes!" Yes, indeed, *what* Heroes! I hope, for one, I may at least in this instance, be excused from "Hero-worship!" Those who assert and maintain the Divine Authority—the sovereignty of Truth and Justice, everywhere and in all things; who do so heartily, earnestly, resolutely as the end of their endeavors—the object of their existence—these, and these only, from whomsoever they may come, and however the majority may regard them, are worthy to be pronounced "GREAT MEN!"

I thank you, Mr. Editor, for your liberality in admitting my papers into THE STANDARD. Now and then, a reader, I hope will, if he cannot subscribe to my con-

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WENDELL PHILLIPS is Special Editorial Contributor.

Address AARON M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau street, New York.

NOTICE.—The colored people of the State of Pennsylvania will hold a Convention on the fifth day of November next at West Chester, in Horticultural Hall, to consult in relation to the Educational interests of the race, and for such other business as may come before the Convention. Thos. Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice; the Hon. James W. Nye, U. S. Senator; the Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Dr. William Longfellow, Prof. Green, and others, have been invited to address the Convention.

By order of the Committee.

THE NEW YORK MEDICAL COLLEGE FOR WOMEN will begin their Fifth Annual Term, of 20 weeks, at the College in 12th Street, two doors east of Fourth Avenue, the first Monday in November. Address the Dean, Mrs. S. S. Lozier, M. D., 501 West 34th Street, N. Y., or the Secretary, Mrs. C. F. WELLS, care of Fowler and Wells, N. Y.

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BOSTON HYMN.

READ IN MUSIC HALL, JANUARY 1, 1863.

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

The word of the Lord by night
To the watching Pilgrims came.
As they sat by the seaside,
And filled their hearts with flame.

God said, I am tired of kings,
I suffer them no more;
Up to my ear the morning brings
The outrage of the poor.

Think ye I made this ball
A field of havoc and war,
Where tyrants great and tyrants small
Might harry the weak and poor?

My angel,—his name is Freedom,—
Choose him to be your king;
He shall cut pathways east and west,
And fend you with his wing.

Lo! I uncover the land
Which I hid of old time in the West,
As the sculptor uncovers the statue
When he has wrought his best;

I show Columbia, of the rocks
Which dip their foot in the seas,
And soar to the air-borne flocks
Of clouds, and the boreal fleece.

I will divide my goods;
Call in the wretch and slave.
None shall rule but the humble,
And none but Toil shall have.

I will have never a noble,
No lineage counted great;
Fishers and choppers and ploughmen
Shall constitute a state.

Go, cut down trees in the forest,
And trim the straightest boughs;
Cut down trees in the forest,
And build me a wooden house.

Call the people together,
The young men and the sires,
The digger in the harvest field,
Hireling, and him that tires;

And here in a pine state-house
They shall choose men to rule
In every needful faculty,
In church, and state, and school.

Lo, now! if these poor men
Can govern the land and sea,
And make just laws below the sun,
As planets faithful be.

And ye shall succor men;
'Tis nobleness to serve;
Help them who cannot help again:
Beware from right to swerve.

I break your bonds and masterships,
And I unchain the slave:
Free be his heart and hand henceforth
As wind and wandering wave.

I cause from every creature
His proper good to flow:
As much as he is and doeth,
So much he shall bestow.

But, laying bands on another
To coin his labor and sweat,
He goes in pawn to his victim
For eternal years in debt.

To-day unbind the captive,
So only are ye unbound;
Lift up a people from the dust,
Trump of their rescue, sound!

Pay ransom to the owner,
Who is the owner? The slave is owner,
And ever was. Pay him.

O North! give him beauty for rags,
And honor, O South! for his shame;
Nevada! coin thy golden crags
With Freedom's image and name.

Up! and the dusky race
That sat in darkness long,—
Be swift their feet as antelopes,
And as behemoth strong.

Come, East and West and North,
By races, as snow-flakes,
And carry my purpose forth,
Which neither halts nor shakes.

My will fulfilled shall be,
For, in daylight or in dark,
My thunderbolt has eyes to see
His way home to the mark.

LETTER OF MADAME DORA D'ISTRIA.

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER OF MADAME DORA D'ISTRIA —PRINCESS MASSALSKI—TO THE LADIES' EPIROT, MACEDONIAN AND CRETAN COMMITTEE AT ATHENS.

LADIES: I have read with equal interest and emotion the particulars which you give to me of the sufferings of the families who are obliged, by persecutions of all kinds, to seek a refuge on the soil of the Greek kingdom.

You are pleased to think that by making known the sufferings to western nations, my voice, which has been more than once favorably listened to, will not remain without echo. Indeed, I am disposed to believe that if Christian women, who peacefully enjoy the prosperity denied to the greatest portion of our peninsula, could form an idea of the situation of these unfortunate populations, they would be withhold from so many untitled families those sympathies which are generally accorded to the unfortunate.

The struggle of which the Oriental peninsula is at present the theatre, is indeed not one of those fratricidal wars, in which two peoples of the same faith and civilization quarrel over some threads of territory. This struggle is the supreme contest between Asia and Europe, between scepticism and faith, between civilization and the brutalizing institutions of the barbarian world.

In the event of the triumph of the followers of the Prophet, our sex will remain in the condition of servitude, of ignorance, of the shameful infamies of polygamy, of the kind of existence so faithfully described in "Asia Minor and Syria," by an author who cannot be accused of systematic hostility towards the Ottomans, namely, the Princess de Belgiojoso.

On the other hand, if Christianity is victorious; if the doctrine which proclaims that there is neither man nor woman in Jesus Christ, carries the day; the world will witness the accomplishment of a much greater progress than that achieved on the day when Abraham Lincoln, in defiance of the poignards of the assassins, signed the decree of emancipation.

Since the cause of justice is so endeared to western nations, whenever blacks or mulattoes are concerned, they will certainly not look upon peoples of the same race and religion as *Parias*, doomed by an insurmountable dispensation to eternal servitude.

The same sophistries, however, which were put forward by American or English apologists of slavery, are again current on this occasion. It is alleged that the persons about to be initiated into European life are not in a condition to understand it and to adapt themselves to it; and that, by desiring a new order of things, they actually reject the proffered boon of liberty, with that dogged stupidity peculiar to uncultivated and narrow minds.

These ideas, though so widely spread, are not any the less incorrect. We are far removed from the period when the Orient had almost no intercourse with the West, and when the Mussulman woman could be made to believe that their condition was the only one in conformity with good sense, morals and principles of religion.

It is well known in the most obscure harems, that the "Prophet's Image of God" has been obliged to incline himself, with due humility, before a woman who rules over many hundred millions of men, cities, has had a post assigned to her in Australia, scattered over Europe Asia, America and Australia. What a poet Byron would have been had he taken his meals properly, and allowed himself to grow fat—if nature intended him to grow fat—and not have swaying the glorious sceptre of the Elizabeth and the Anne, would be all that is required for the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire! If that man had received his dinner, he never would have written "Don Juan."—*Thackeray's Early and Late Papers.*

THE ANSWER.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Spare me, dread angel of reproof,
And let the sunshine weave to-day
Its gold-threads in the warp and woof
Of life so poor and gray.

Spare me: while the flesh is weak,
These lingering feet that fain would stray
Among the flowers, shall some day seek
The straight and narrow way.

Take off thy ever watchful eye,
The awe of thy rebuking frown;
The dullest slave at times must sigh
To fling his burdens down;

To drop his galley's straining oar,
And press, in summer warmth and calm,
The lap of some enchanted shore
Of blossoms and of balm.

Grudge not my life its hour of bloom,
My heart its taste of long desire:
This day be mine; be those to come
As duty shall require.

The deep voice answered to my own,
Smiting my selfish prayers away:
"To-morrow is with God alone,
And man hath but to-day.

"Say not thy fond, vain heart within,
The Father's arms shall still be wide
When from these pleasant ways of sin
Thou turn'st at eventide."

"Cast thyself down," the tempter saith.
"And angels shall thy feet upbear."
He bids thee make a lie of faith,
A blasphemy of prayer.

Though God be good and free be Heaven,
No force divine can love compel;
And, though the song of sins forgiven
May sound through lowest hell,

The sweet persuasion of His voice
Respects thy sanctity of will.
He giveth day; then hast thy choice
To walk in darkness still;

As one who, turning from the light,
Watches his own gray shadow fall,
Doubting, upon his path of night,
If there be day at all!

No word of doom may slant thee out,
No wind of wrath may downward whirl,
No swords of fire keep watch about
The open gates of pearl.

A tenderer light than moon or sun,
Than song of earth a sweeter hymn,
May shine and sound forever on,
And then be deaf and dim.

Forever round the mercy-seat
The guiding lights of Love shall burn;
But what if, habit-bound, thy feet
Shall lack the will to turn?

What if thine eye refuse to see,
Thine ear of Heaven's free welcome fall,
And thou a willing captive be,
Thyself thy own dark jail?

O doom beyond the saddest guess,
As the long years of God unroll
To make thy dreary selfishness
The prison of a soul!

To doubt the love that fain would break
The fetters from thy self-bound limb;
And dream that God can thee forsake
As thou forsakest Him!

—*N. Y. Independent.*

THE ART OF LEGISLATING IN PARLIAMENT.

An English journal has this humorish sketch:

"Sleeping in the House of Commons is conducted on scientific principles. Probably no member spends so many hours in the House at his post as Mr. Gowan, the M.P. for Newcastle—who is beginning to be known as the 'long sitter'—and who has not yet learnt the parliamentary art of sleeping at his post, which is an indispensable thing in the House of Commons. On days of importance a member requires to be in his place at three o'clock if he is to secure his seat, and as a sitting commonly lasts till two in the morning, it is not within mortal power to sit day-by-day, night-by-night, without yielding to the drowsy influence of the time in sleeping. Wily members prefer stopping away the early part of the sitting, and dropping in when questions are on that they care for. Others only come on certain days, and all present the most attentive, go home before the late divisions, but all who attend constantly, quite as constantly (if they have any sense) sleep in the House. From the oldest Cabinet Minister down to the newest member of this is done. He is voted a 'fool' who attempts to meddle with every question, and if he waits for those he is concerned in, he had better doze till they come to a division and be absent. No one knows when divisions will come on, and to join in them a member must be on the spot, and to make up his mind to sleep (if necessary), at his post, is the only way in which he can discharge his duty. Mr. J. S. Mill, in Mr. Gladstone's watchfulness and prudence, sits for hours asleep with his face on his hand, having had the precaution to choose a seat which enables him to do it.

"The public, who do not understand the thing, think it strange that the House is half asleep, that the members are neglecting their duty, and are subjects of remark. The six hundred and thirty members who were absent, and probably in bed, are, of course, unknown in the House, while the twenty eight who remain to the last are open to comments if not in the most vivid state of activity. When a member has mastered the mode of a question he has done his duty, and is only to wait for the division bell rings for action. Some members, like Mr. Soholefield, have great talent in dropping in only when they are wanted. Mr. Bright will stay away weeks together. Earl Russell, when a peer, used to spend trimmed hat into the House for the convenience of sleeping under it. Lord Palmerston followed the example, and was a great dozer. Mr. Gladstone stretches out both his legs and sleeps at his ease, the members going up to Mr. Speaker sometimes tumble over him. Lord Halifax, when in the House, holding the office of India minister, used to lay his head back, open his mouth, and snore loud enough to be heard in Bengal. Some members who are lame are obliged to sit on that side of the House which enables them to rest their limbs with their face to the Speaker. Sir Hardinge Giffard, Mr. Bethell, have to lean against the table to speak because they cannot stand. Feeble members, like Mr. Roebuck, and blind members, like Mr. Fawcett, sit on the front bench below the gangway, and members with no heads sit all over the House."

CLERICAL ANECDOTE.—The Rev Samuel Clawson, a Methodist preacher of eccentric manners, sometimes called the "wild man," was very popular in Western Virginia some twenty years ago. He was cross-eyed and very made, and very dark-skinned for a white man. At times he was surprisingly eloquent, always excitable, and occasionally extravagant. He once accompanied a brother minister, Rev. Mr. B., a prominent pastor, in a visit to a colored church. Mr. R. gave the colored preacher the hint, and of course Clawson was invited to preach. He did so, and during the sermon set the impulsive Africans to shouting all over the house. This, in turn, set Clawson to extravagant words and actions, and he leaped out of the pulpit like a deer, and began to take the hands of the colored brethren and mix in quite happily. He kept for joy. Then, pressing through the crowd, he found brother R., and sitting down beside him, he threw his arm around his neck, and with tears streaming down his cheeks, he said: "Brother B., I almost wish I had been born a nigger. Those folks have more religion than we have." "Well, well," said Brother R., "you come so near it that you needn't cry about it."

A RECENT trial in New Orleans brought out the following information of how professional beggars make themselves temporarily blind:

"The impostor provides himself with a peculiar quality of blue stone, not for sale by all dealers, and having secured the services of some half-starved little motherless and friendless boy or girl to lead him, he chips off a small piece of blue stone, about the size of a pea, and dissolves it in an ordinary glass of water. This is enough to make fifteen men blind for three or four days. He then closes his eyes and bathes the lids with the liquid. It acts as a powerful astringent, and even if he wanted to see he couldn't, until the effect wears off. The lids are tightly closed, and if they are forced open there is a temporary film over the pupil which prevents his receive buy but the skilful oculist."

BENEVOLENT BLUNDERS.

UNDER this title, a writer in *Good Words*, an "Evangelical" monthly, tells the following story of the difficulties some benefactors meet with in endeavoring to lead what is called a "religious life." Whilst fully admitting that it is desirable to have "public worship" duly attended, and Sunday duly observed, we may commend the incident to an over-zealous class, who, living in the enjoyment of all the "modern conveniences," and with the ability to indulge in servants, carriages, new clothes, any amount of comfort and luxury, are yet philanthropically bent on compelling everybody, however poor and ill-conditioned, to keep the Sabbath according to the letter of their creed:

A lady had gone to visit a young couple of the better class of the poor. They had as yet no children, and the husband being a stoker on a railway, they were above the reach of want. Under these circumstances it seemed to the visitor that they might have attended to their religious duties at least to the extent of going to church on Sundays, and she ventured to intimate as much to the young woman who was standing rather idly at the door. "Will you please walk in till I show you something?" was the woman's answer; and she conducted her visitor to the little kitchen where her husband sat by the fire. He had just come home for half an hour to have his tea, and was watching the kettle with the most absorbing interest. He was, of course, in his working clothes, and his face and hands were of a deep oily black, after the manner of stokers.

"Now, ma'am," said the woman, pointing to him, "you see that there man; that's my husband, and I'm bound to do a part by him, ain't I?" "Surely," said the blunderer, anxious to uphold the duties of matrimony. "Very well, then; would you like to know how I pass my Sundays? A washing of he! Never a blessed moment has he to wash himself through the week, out early and late and half the 'night, too, and blacker nor any crow all the while. Well, on Sundays its fitting and proper he should try to look like a Christian, if he can, so he sets me to it after we eats our breakfast, with a bucketful of soapsuds and a scrubbing brush, and I rubs him off and on all day, till my arms ache, and he ain't much better than he wor; and then after we has our tea, he says to me, 'Come, Sally, have another try, there's a brave wench,' and I goes at him again, and sluices him down till you'd think he's bigger up come out white; and if you believe me, ma'am, when I polishes him off with a dry towel afore we goes to bed, he's only a light brown after all!" What was to be said to such stubborn facts; especially when the good woman finished with the unanswerable argument, "So you see, ma'am, them as wants to live religious has best not marry a stoker."

AN ANTIDOTE FOR POISONS.—We do not know where the following originated, or how much truth there is in it, but as the antidote is entirely harmless, and may prove useful in some cases, we give it a place:

A plain farmer says: "It is now over twenty years since I learned that sweet oil would cure the bite of a rattlesnake, not knowing that it would cure any other kind of poison. Practice, observation and experience have taught me that it will cure poison of any kind, both on man and beast. I think no farmer should be without a bottle of it in his house. The patient must take a spoonful of it internally and bathe the wound for a cure. To cure a horse requires eight times as much as it does a man. Here let me say of one of the most extreme cases of snake-bite in this neighborhood: Eleven years ago this Summer, where the case had been thirty days standing, and the patient had been given up by the physician, I heard of it, carried the oil, gave him one spoonful which effected a cure. It is an antidote for arsenic and strychnine. It will cure blood in cattle caused by eating too freely of fresh clover; it will cure sting of bees, spiders or other insects; and will also cure persons who have been poisoned by a low running vine growing in the meadows, called ivy."

TOADS.—An old lady of the writer's acquaintance possessed as pets a number of toads, which she kept in some rockwork in her garden, and had tamed to a degree that the following manner: She would catch and imprison the toad she intended making a pet of under the flower-pot, and then liberally supply it with different kinds of food such as toads delight in, including bread and crumbs, which, in the absence of the old lady, the prisoner greedily devoured. It would soon, however, lose its habitual shyness, and upon lifting up the flower-pot the toad would first eat in her presence, and then, secondly, from her hand, the food she offered. As soon as this stage in the taming process was reached, the old lady would turn out the captive into the society of other toads among the rockwork. Twice a day, during the warmer months of the year, did she approach the abode of her pets, when they would come forth from their hiding-places, and eagerly devour whatever she threw to them. They quickly learned to distinguish her footsteps on the gravel walk from all other persons, and came fearlessly out of their holes to greet her. One result of the lady's treatment was, that these reptiles did not become torpid for some weeks after their kindred had disappeared from view.—*People's Magazine.*

FOR WEAK THROATS.—Rev. B. J. Bettelheim, M. D., now of Cayuga, Ill., says:

"As an M. D., I can tell all those who have much speaking to do—ministers, lecturers, teachers—who follows hard after service—to try the use of raw yolks swallowed fresh as they come out of the white. A little practice will teach easily to separate yolk and white, leaving the former in one-half of the cup-shell from which it is sipped in best. I preached in London, England, thrice every Sabbath (and often four times) for three years and upwards, using often a dozen of yolks in the same day, and my voice felt as fresh in the evening as in the morning, and often clearer and stronger."

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